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ABSTRACT

"Cross Currents" is subtitled "an International Journal of Language Teaching and Cross-Cultural Communication." This special theme issue is devoted to the subject of Southeast Asian refugee education and contains 13 articles on refugee education (as well as 6 articles on other language teaching topics). The thematic articles include the following: "Universals of Politeness in the ESL Classroom"; "English as an International Language"; "Cooperative Learning in a Humanistic English Class"; "Curriculum Design and Pre-Entry Training for Adult Indochinese Refugees"; "Input and Output: Interaction in the Language Laboratory"; "Picture Vocabulary"; "The Changing Faces of Refugee Education"; "Vietnam's Amerasian Families: The Face of Jeopardy in Resettlement"; "Literacy for Mothers of Amerasians"; "A Method for Teaching Literacy to the Orally Proficient"; "Incorporating Primary Prevention Techniques in Discussion Groups"; "Student Teaching in Refugee ESL Classes"; "Books for Beginning Readers and Writers: If You Can't Find Them, Make Them"; "Cross Cultural Training for Young Adult Vietnamese Refugees"; "Educational Programs for Cambodian Refugees"; "English Language Teaching at Phanat Nikhom: Ten Years Later"; "Refugee Education in Hong Kong"; and "Meeting the Long-Term Educational Needs of Resettled Refugees: An Integrated Approach." (MSE)

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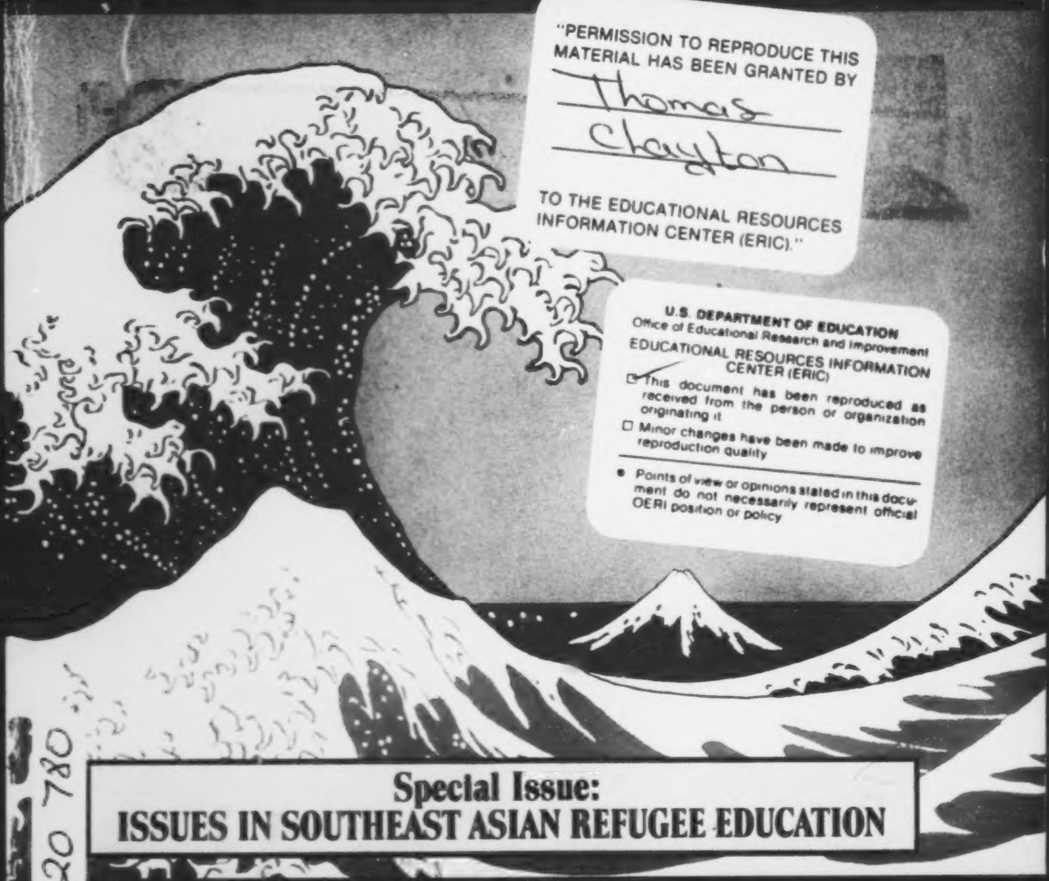

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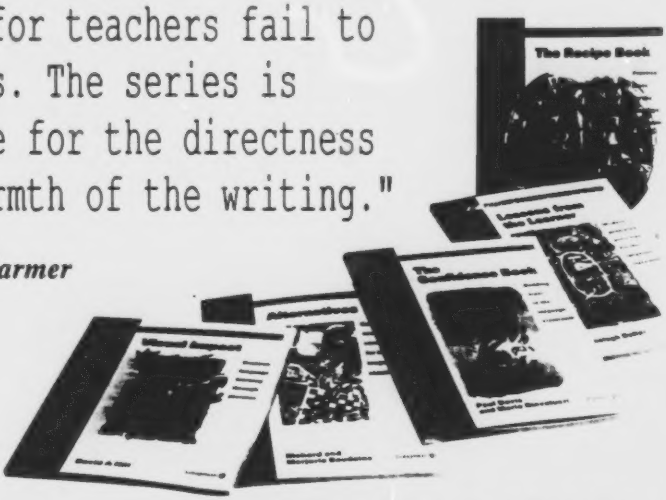

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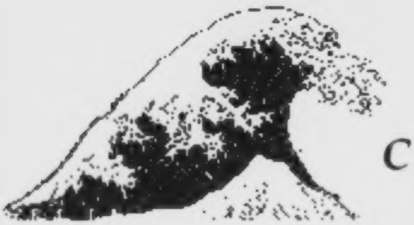

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Cross Currents is a biannual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication, language skill acquisition, and language skill instruction.

Areas of Interest. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly interested in issues concerned with both theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL acquisition and instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, international English language teaching with special emphasis on Japan, and English as an International Language.

Submissions. All submissions to *Cross Currents* should conform to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (Third Edition) and should be submitted in triplicate. Please include a brief abstract of the article, a short biographical sketch, and a cover letter with author's address and telephone and fax numbers. Manuscripts may be submitted on MacWrite or MS Word (Macintosh software), or on clean white paper. Please avoid dot matrix. All submissions will be acknowledged. Diskettes will be returned. Manuscripts with SASE will be returned. Authors of published material will receive 20 reprints. Authors will retain the right to use material in future publications provided that *Cross Currents* is acknowledged as the original publisher. Authors are expected to refer all requests to republish their work to *Cross Currents*. *Cross Currents* will not give permission to reproduce any work published here without consent of the author.

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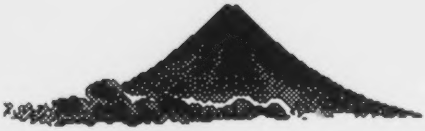

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Volume 18, Number 1 is the third in *Cross Currents'* contemporary series of special focus publications which consider issues in international language education. In this issue, we examine "Issues in Southeast Asian Refugee Education," a particularly important topic given the hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asian refugees that have entered the United States in the last ten years and the tens of thousands currently living in refugee camps. The forum contains contributions by 13 professionals, including Dr. James W. Tollefson. Special thanks to Thomas Clayton, who edited the forum.

Cross Currents' lead article, "Universals of Politeness in the ESL Classroom," page 13, explores the concept of politeness and the social factors that determine what is and is not polite. Author Rei R. Noguchi gives special attention to some of the pitfalls that may await classroom EFL/ESL teachers.

In "English as an International Language: An Overview," page 27, author Brian Paltridge gives an in depth survey of the current research into English as an international language and provides a list of possible directions for further research.

The third article in this issue, "Cooperative Learning in a Humanistic English Class," page 37, comes from Thailand. Author Kanchana Prapphal, former president of Thai/TESOL, describes a successful classroom experiment in cooperative learning which was conducted at Chulalongkorn University Language Institute.

The fourth and final article in this issue of *Cross Currents*, "Curriculum Design and Preentry Training for Adult Indochinese Refugees," page 43, examines the development of competency-based curricula for refugees from diverse cultural and educational backgrounds.

Our Bright Ideas in this issue of *Cross Currents* were contributed by Brenda Hayashi and Adam Young. Hayashi's "Input and Output: Interaction in the Language Laboratory," beginning on page 53, describes methods of utilizing the language laboratory, especially as regards large classes. She gives very specific guidelines on splitting large classes so that the teacher can work with one group while the other works independently in the language laboratory.

Adam Young's "Picture Vocabulary" on page 57 presents a method of encouraging the use of new vocabulary through student stories centered on pictures. Variations are provided by Paul Jaquith and Amy Absher.

Cross Currents Volume 18, Number 1 concludes with reviews by Dr. R.K. Singh, Victor Fic, and Paul Corrigan of *Language, Communication, and Culture: Current Directions; English In China;* and *Professional Interactions: Oral Communication Skills in Science, Technology, and Medicine.* The review section begins on page 99.

We hope you enjoy this special focus issue of *Cross Currents*. We will examine "Content-based Language Learning" in our next publication, Volume 18, Number 2, Winter 1991. Those interested in contributing to the forum should contact the editor.

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LETTERS

Is Japanese English Education Changing?

IN YOUR FALL 1990 ISSUE, YOSHIE AIGA asks "Is Japanese Education Changing?" She believes it is. Ms. Aiga points to two elements which she believes are helping to facilitate change—the rapid increase of AETs (Assistant English Teachers) being invited to Japan to assist in English education, and the Ministry of Education's revised Course of Study to be implemented in 1994. However, substantive change requires more than just adding 2,300 native speakers to stand beside Japanese English teachers or adding new courses that sound good in name only.

Ms. Aiga has nothing but accolades for the JET program, but the impact it has had on education has been minimal compared to the billions of yen spent on it. This is primarily because education is a secondary concern for the program's sponsors (the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). In 1988, Minoru Soma, the former secretary general of the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), said that "the program is to foster international exchange at the local level" (letter to The Japan Times, March 20, 1988). Shingo Nishiguchi of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the program is to allow Western participants "to play an active part in promotion of mutual understanding among nations, as private ambassadors who shoulder the 'grass root (sic) exchange'," (JET Journal, Winter 1991, p. 10) upon their return home. The success of the program depends on having the foreigners here to foster internationalization, and not on using them productively in the education process. Retention seems more important than performance, according to CLAIR's Daizo Yamada who believes that the JET program's 2-3% withdrawal rate in the past three years is a measure of the program's success (JET Journal, Winter 1991). And after a "successful" year or two, the government sends the AETs back to their native countries to promote Japan. This policy of not encouraging longer stays and the fact that the MOE does not select AETs on the basis of their educational qualifications or work experience indicates that education is a secondary goal of the JET program.

At the heart of the JET program is team-teaching, a term only nebulously defined by the countless seminars, lectures, and publications about the program in the past four years. Ms. Aiga feels these efforts have improved the dismal 1987 statistics which showed that only 50% of junior high JTEs and 34% of high school JTEs were satisfied with team-teaching. I am doubtful. On the other hand, the favorable statistics she quotes indicating that AETs have improved students' listening comprehension, and speaking and reading skills, do not show that team-teaching is effective. Instead, they reveal that teachers who know the English language well—and use it in class—will help their students improve their English ability. Unfortunately, most of the language used in class by the JTEs is Japanese. Many JTEs view the use of spoken English in the classroom as a liability, since the ultimate goal of English instruction in Japan is to pass the English component of the university entrance exams, in which communicative English plays an insignificant role. Because of these shortcomings, complaints about team-teaching well outnumber accolades. Common complaints include the following: JTEs do not use AETs effectively; team teaching disrupts course scheduling. Moreover, JTEs rarely apply what they have learned from team-teaching to their regular classes.

As the JET program founders in confusion, many educators eagerly await the New Course of Study due in 1994, which promises to add Oral Communication A, B, and C to the curriculum. My worry is that these courses will be "oral communication" in name only because Japanese English education is hampered by two unchanging factors: large class size and the university entrance examination system. Possible problems for speaking courses can be foreseen by examining the extant composition classes. Composition is defined by the American College Dictionary as "a short essay written as a school exercise," but a class built around that definition does not exist in Japanese English education. Classes of more than 40 students make it difficult if not impossible for teachers to assign essays because of the time involved in reading assignments from three or four classes. Why, though, should teachers assign essays anyway when the purpose of English instruction in Japan is to prepare students for a university entrance exam which seldom requires an essay in English? Therefore, composition class is a thinly-disguised grammar class preparing students for the multiple-choice questions of the university entrance exams. Thus, two years of high school composition becomes a time to memorize key words and phrases and their applications.

The same problem is likely to occur with the Oral Communication A and C classes, leaving Oral Communication B, which focuses on listening comprehension and is testable on the multiple-choice university entrance exams, as the only practical course for classes of more than 40 students. Therefore, because of large class sizes and testing difficulties, Oral Communication A (daily conversation) and Oral Communication C (development of public communication skills) will become caricatures of their planners' original intent, as did composition. Teachers will teach what is needed to pass the exam—it is as simple as that. A colleague told me that almost a decade ago the English curriculum was changed. I asked him what was different now. He said that nothing was different, except that at his school they now have an English course. The contents of the classes are the same. He does not worry about the new changes. Though teachers are supposed to study for the new curriculum, most will only pretend to do so, and the classes will take the form that best prepares students for the present university examinations. Unless the exams change, the new courses will fail, in Ms. Aiga's words, "to develop students' communicative competence and also help to encourage positive attitudes toward communicating in English."

There are more practical methods of developing communicative competence in English than bringing a host of AETs to Japan and effecting piecemeal changes in the curriculum. English instruction should begin earlier, for one thing. According to a 1990 TEFL survey, over 75% of all educators and parents support beginning English instruction in elementary school, where students would not be so intimidated by entrance exam English and could develop a more natural pronunciation by starting at a younger age. Another suggestion is to ensure that JTEs attain communicative competence in English. JTEs could be required to study abroad in an English speaking country for at least one year, sharing the costs with the Education Ministry. Thus, the JTE would not only learn the language, but would also be exposed to the culture, an important factor in language instruction.

There is little doubt that the number of Japanese people interested in learning English is growing. However, the English instruction they receive in the public schools does not promote communicative competence. Japan should seriously consider changing its method of English education, beginning with the university entrance exams. The courses should be taught by Japanese teachers who can communicate in English, and in settings where students can learn practical English more easily.

Better English education is not necessarily achieved by hiring additional AETs or adding questionable courses to the present curriculum.

CHARLES THRONSON
Assistant English Teacher
Aioi High School
Aioi-shi, Hyogo-ken
Japan

The Globalization of Higher Education

THE DISCUSSION OF THE ACCREDITAtion standards of U.S. colleges and universities setting up campuses in Japan (Forum, *Cross Currents*, 17.2) was too scrupulous by half.

Several community colleges, a private four-year college, and one university have agreements with a Japanese vocational school in which students are granted U.S. college credits for courses taken at the Japanese school—courses which would not pass muster in the United States. For example, a graduate of the two-year Japanese vocational school taught "college algebra." The U.S. history course uses a junior high text and covers in one year the equivalent of one semester at a U.S. college, but students receive a year's credit. Not only are ESL courses usually not taught by people who have studied TESL, but many of the transferable courses are taught by teachers with no advanced degrees or with no credentials in the subject.

Grades that show up on transcripts are based largely on attendance, not on any academic criteria used in the United States. Teachers' grades for transfer students are often raised; incompletes are changed to a grade suitable for transfer—all without consulting the foreign teachers involved.

This occurs in part because the Japanese school prints what looks like a U.S. college catalog, listing course descriptions that have simply been copied from U.S. college catalogs, but which bear little or no resemblance to the actual classes. In addition, the catalog is filled with bogus classes that the school never offers. The grading policy is likewise copied from a U.S. catalog, but the students see neither this policy, nor the catalog, which is for export only. Conspicuously absent are the names and credentials of the teachers.

But it would be wrong to place all the blame on the Japanese school. That would be like blaming the prostitute for taking money from the client. In this case, the clients bear a good deal of responsibility.

None of the clients has ever spoken in private with any of the foreign teachers at the school. Only one solicits confidential reports on transfer students, and that college gets the fewest transfers. None, apparently, has asked why the teachers are not listed or why there is no mention of how many books there are in the library (there is no library). None, apparently, has reported its "articulation agreement" to U.S. accrediting teams.

Yet, economically, it's a beneficial situation for both sides. The U.S. side doesn't have to spend any money, except for a trip to Japan to visit the school, and the Japanese students bring much-needed currency to the United States. The Japanese side can charge about half the tuition that Arizona State, CUNY, Edmonds, Pittsburgh ELI, and other Japan branches must charge. Moreover, presently fewer than 100 students are in or heading for the United States based on these agreements, so perhaps it's not such an important issue.

Still, it seems to me that this partnership mocks the efforts of the other Japan branches of U.S. schools, and it certainly raises serious questions about the ability of the U.S. accrediting associations to police their members and uphold high educational standards. To paraphrase Karl Marx, "Who will educate the educators?"

MONTY VIERRA
Hiroshima, Japan

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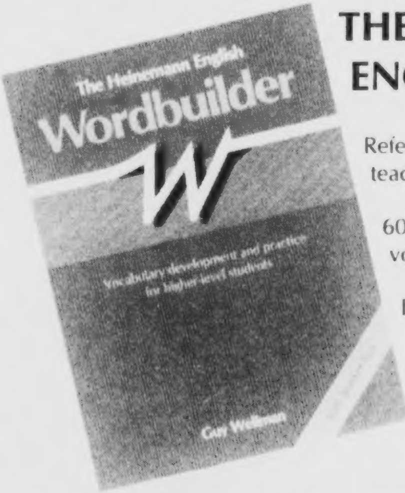
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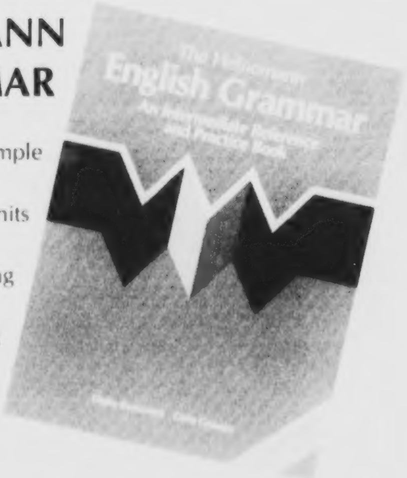
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Universals of Politeness in the ESL Classroom

Rei R. Noguchi

To succeed in the ESL classroom (and in the foreign-language classroom in general), teachers need to understand the culture of their students—the history and customs of the country of origin, the nature of family organization, the social roles and expectations within the home community.[1] Equally or more important, teachers need to understand the rules that regulate interpersonal communication within ethnic communities, specifically, the rules that govern who speaks what to whom, when, how, and why. If rules governing speech differ across cultures and if ESL teachers inadvertently and continually violate the speech norms of students, they will not easily earn the respect of their students nor in the end fully encourage a mastery of English. Yet, given the wide diversity of cultures found in ESL classrooms not only in the United States (Valdes, 1986; McKay & Wong, 1988) but throughout the world, how can teachers expect to learn—not to mention, show sensitivity to—the seemingly myriad cultural differences that govern speech? Can ESL teachers isolate and grasp all the differing rules, or norms, which students bring to the classroom? By focusing on some universals of politeness in language, this study offers a practical way to approach this problem.

Given the many differing norms of speaking found among ESL students, the most obvious solution might be simply to have students adopt the teacher's norms of speaking, which, for all intents and purposes, means adopting Anglo norms. This solution does have certain advantages. For one, it relieves many ESL teachers, particularly Anglo ESL teachers, of learning and trying to implement the diverse rules of their students. For example, if teachers happen to be Anglo-American, they need only to apply in the classroom the rules of speaking acquired in their own enculturation in the United States (which is not to say that all Anglo-Americans acquire the same rules). If Anglo teachers procure an advantage by the adoption of Anglo-based norms, so also do their students. If ESL students wish not only to speak (i.e., produce) English but to use it effectively as well, they cannot help but benefit by an exposure to and a knowledge of the norms governing the use of English in Anglo society. Since ESL students (and immigrants in general) in the United States seek to learn English so they may more effectively participate in a still largely Anglo society, it makes sense for them to gain acquaintance with the norms governing language use in that society.

Yet, the simple adoption of Anglo norms brings several notable disadvantages, including a pedagogical one. Because Anglo norms may differ from—indeed, may conflict with—the non-Anglo norms of the majority of students in the classroom, teachers may sometimes encounter reluctant, if not minimal, student participation. Take, for example, the norms governing topic selection. Anglo-American norms often permit a wider range of topics to enter conversation, including topics concerning politics, religion, family affairs, sex, etc. Thus, from a comparative perspective and to outsiders, American conversations seem "free spirited" and "free wheeling," with speakers not only bringing in tabooed topics but sometimes also openly and forcefully challenging established traditions or institutions. Many non-

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Anglo cultures (e.g., Asian or Arabic cultures) do not allow such latitude in topics in conversation (Axtell, 1985), especially in the midst of relative strangers or with speakers of the opposite sex. Indeed, because of the differences in permissible topics, non-Anglo speakers may choose to evade certain topics or simply choose to remain silent (Ishii, 1984; Noguchi, 1987). It is not that these cultures never discuss such topics but that such topics are often considered best left to experts or discussed only among trusted friends away from the public eye.

If Anglo-based norms sometimes cause problems in the classroom, they may also cause problems outside the classroom. Norms employed by teachers, specifically Anglo norms, are not necessarily the ones students should always follow in the real world. Outside the classroom, ESL students will likely use English to converse not just with Anglos but with non-Anglos as well. Indeed, given the role of English as a *lingua franca* among different ethnic groups, it is inevitable that ESL students will use English to communicate with both Anglo and non-Anglo English speakers; moreover, it is inevitable that many of the non-Anglo English speakers will adhere to—and probably expect—non-Anglo norms of speaking. Thus, what has essentially been a problem for teachers, becomes a problem for students as well. It is also worth pointing out here that norms followed by teachers in the classroom are not necessarily the ones teachers themselves follow outside the classroom. Indeed, the norms operative in the ESL classroom derive not just from the different cultural background of teachers but also, and perhaps more generally, from their different social role. Teachers, by their very status and role as teachers (whether ESL or non-ESL), use English in ways that differ conspicuously from the English of their students (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard, 1977). When compared to students, teachers in the classroom typically issue more direct commands, solicit frequent repetitions of prior speech, ask questions when they already know the answer, correct the speech of others, often employ a more elevated vocabulary, and generally use a more careful and sometimes more formal style. Obviously, emulating this role-influenced style of speaking will not always hold students in good stead outside the classroom; in fact, it could very well get them into trouble. All this, of course, is not to say that students will fail to understand the reasons for such differences or gain no benefit from an exposure to such a style of speaking. The main point here is that, because of the differences in social status and role, norms followed by teachers in the classroom will often differ from those students need to know and follow outside the classroom.

Last but not least, the adoption of strictly Anglo norms may cause offense—both in and out of the classroom. Because Anglo norms can clash with the non-Anglo norms of students, teachers following Anglo norms of speech always run the risk of unintentional affronts (e.g., see Brend, 1978). These affronts, whether real or perceived as real by students, can lead to strained teacher-student relationships. Consider how some Anglo-American teachers strive to create an egalitarian atmosphere in the classroom by imploring students to question authority ("Tell us some ways which you know your parents were wrong in your upbringing" or "Did your history teacher really tell you that?"), by calling on students individually to express their opinions ("What are your real thoughts about abortion?"), by asking students to call everyone, including the teacher, by first names ("You can call me Charles or, better yet, Charlie"), all while casually sitting on the teacher's desk. Yet, in many cultures where social rank, authority, and decorum are highly valued (e.g., Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Thai) such attempts to create instant "democracy in action" are sometimes more apt to create confusion, if not resentment and disrespect, among students, especially those coming from cultures which distinguish more sharply between public and private selves. Even the seemingly innocuous act of the teacher sitting on the desk may have negative effects. It may, for example, particularly annoy Thai students because it increases the chance of directly exposing the soles of the shoes to an onlooker (an insult in Thai culture); more generally, it suggests disrespect to a perceived symbol of formal education (consider the analogous act of sitting on someone's tombstone); it also increases the chance of the teacher pointing with the foot to designate a nearby object (a breach of etiquette in many Asian cultures).

Or consider a teacher's directly asking students for their position on the morality of, for example, abortion. On one level, the question may cause offense because it brings into conversation, at least for more conservative cultures, a tabooed topic. Worse yet, the teacher here forces responses from students who may in no way wish to reveal their position for fear of public embarrassment or for fear of public opposition to family or religious beliefs. If so, pressing for unambiguous responses from students under such circumstances may produce even greater embarrassment—or resentment. If the teacher has already revealed or at least suggested his or her own stand on the issue, students who have contrary views face still another problem. Do they express this opposed view to show that they do, indeed, have a view, or do they, like many Asian students, remain silent in order to show respect for the teacher's view? The problem is clear and real: The fact that speakers, following the norms of their culture, are permitted to talk about different things and in different ways strongly increases the probability that cross-cultural encounters will lead to unexpected and unintended clashes.

The ideal, of course, would be to avoid cultural clashes, or at least make them as infrequent and innocuous as possible in the ESL classroom. Yet, herein lies a quandary. To get students to participate fully and freely in conversational activities in the classroom can enhance mastery of the language; yet, to participate fully and freely in conversation involves great risks, including—and perhaps especially—the risk of cultural clashes resulting from different norms of speaking. In brief, how is the ESL teacher to avoid cultural clashes if teacher and students come from different cultures with different norms of speaking?

Because cultures (and people) vary, no proposed solution can eliminate all cultural clashes. However, ESL teachers—particularly those teaching in multicultural settings—can avoid many (not all) cultural clashes by knowing something about the nature of politeness and the role it plays in language use, not just in interactions in the classroom, but, more generally, in interactions in all cultures. Put another way, the better teachers understand what politeness is, and how it is generated, the better they will understand how to minimize offense to others. By "politeness" here, I follow Green (1989) and others in viewing it as "whatever means are employed to display consideration for one's addressee's feelings (face), regardless of the social distance between the speaker and addressee"(p. 145). As such, politeness is something which smooths and thereby helps decrease the potential for interpersonal friction and conflict, a kind of social grease that facilitates the creation and maintenance of civil relations among people. Most of the ensuing discussion will concern broad generalizations about politeness. Most of these generalizations represent universal tendencies (i.e., generalizations which hold in most cultures); however, some generalizations, in all probability, represent "absolute universals," that is, generalizations without any exceptions (Comrie, 1981). In the latter group, I would include the following:

1. Politeness exists in all cultures, but not all display it to the same degree. No known culture lacks politeness as a resource to mediate social relations. Although some cultures may overtly and consistently display politeness more than others (e.g., Japanese culture more so than some eastern European cultures), all cultures have ready means of conveying politeness. The above holds for geographical and cultural regions within the same country (e.g., urban vs. rural, Northerners vs. Southerners in the United States). That manifestations of politeness should occur in all cultures

should come as no surprise if we realize that all human beings in their interactions with others run the risk of conflict (both physical and nonphysical) and, hence, also run the risk of self-destruction. As a social lubricant, politeness counters this potential for self-destruction.

2. Politeness can be manifested both verbally and nonverbally. People can convey politeness by both word and deed. Thus, upon receiving a favor, a person can express politeness by uttering "Thank you" or by repaying through a reciprocating act (e.g., taking the person out to dinner, helping the person with a task). Polite acts may, of course, involve both verbal and nonverbal behavior. In both linguistic and nonlinguistic acts, the conveyance of politeness depends on both what is expressed and how it is expressed.

3. Politeness can be manifested both positively and negatively. Positive politeness is conveyed by doing something polite: e.g., offering congratulations after the completion of a noteworthy task, offering condolences in times of bereavement, opening doors for the infirm. Negative politeness is conveyed by not doing something impolite: e.g., not reprimanding a guilty party for a mishap, not interrupting a person when he or she is talking, not smoking in crowded elevators. Despite what the terminology suggests, no value judgments are attached to the labels "negative" and "positive" here (comparable terms might be "overt" and "covert"). Negative politeness is not necessarily equivalent to inaction or passivity. Just as it takes effort to do something polite, so it takes effort not to do something impolite (sometimes it may take more). In essence, positive and negative politeness are two sides of the same coin. Whether one seeks to manifest positive or negative politeness depends on the immediate situation and the cultural context.

4. Politeness can be either absolute or relative. According to Leech (1983), the conveyance of politeness can be dependent on the cultural context or independent of it. Relative politeness is politeness which is dependent on the cultural context or situation. For example, the utterance "May I ask you to give me a lift to the White House?" seems a polite request when directed to a friend but not to the President of the United States; this same utterance, on the other hand, may seem overpolite when directed to a cab driver. Absolute politeness, in contrast, is politeness which is independent of the cultural context or situation. For example, the request "May I ask you to give me a lift to the White House?" (and its equivalent in any language) is inherently more polite than the direct command "Give me a lift to White House" regardless of the cultural context or situation (assuming irony is not the intent). Being inherent or absolute, this difference in degree of politeness conveyed here holds across different cultures.

While the above generalizations tell us something about the properties and occurrence of politeness, they reveal very little of its actual generation, or production. But what can ESL teachers use as a general guide to reduce their chances of committing a linguistic (or nonlinguistic) *faux pas* in an intercultural setting? Here, we need to examine some principles, or rules, of politeness that have been hypothesized by linguists. These rules of politeness (sometimes also referred to as "maxims" of politeness) are meant to describe rather than prescribe, but since they represent universal tendencies in the production of politeness and since they are conveniently stated in a "how to" format, they can serve as useful guides for teachers (and students) in ESL classrooms.

Various principles, or rules, have been hypothesized by Lakoff (1972, 1973, 1975), by Leech (1983), and by Brown and Levinson (1987). I focus on the principles of politeness proposed by Leech and Lakoff not because they are unanimously accepted by all scholars (they are not), but because they are the most transparent and, therefore, the easiest to apply in the ESL classroom. Leech (1983, p. 81) proposes a general rule, or principle, of politeness, which he calls the Politeness Principle. This principle, which I believe is followed by most, if not all, cultures, consists of both a positive and negative aspect (i.e., positive politeness and negative politeness).

Politeness Principle: (where overt conflict is not the goal)

a. Positive—Maximize the expression of polite beliefs.
b. Negative—Minimize the expression of impolite beliefs.

Leech's Politeness Principle states that if people have polite beliefs about someone or something and the goal is to avoid conflict, then they should express these polite beliefs whenever possible (positive politeness); on the other hand, if people have impolite beliefs about someone or something and if the goal, again, is to avoid conflict, then they should not express these impolite beliefs (negative politeness). The Politeness Principle captures in a succinct and general way how interactants go about conveying politeness in their verbal and nonverbal acts. For example, if Student A does well on a quiz, a teacher conveys positive politeness by congratulating or praising the student ("You did superb work on the last vocabulary quiz!"); if Student B did poorly on the same quiz, the teacher conveys negative politeness by diminishing the expression of impolite beliefs (e.g., Student B lacks commitment, intelligence, language-learning ability) by remaining silent or by saying something like "Your quiz score isn't good, but it isn't all that bad either." The applicability and value of Leech's Politeness Principle, both in its positive and negative form, are obvious in classrooms in general and multicultural ESL classrooms in particular.

While the Politeness Principle succinctly describes the means of displaying politeness in probably all cultures, the principle as it is formulated does not reveal the special factors which make interactants perceive an act as polite (or impolite). Put in another way, what is it about a polite act that makes it polite? To augment and delineate further the Politeness Principle, Leech (1983) hypothesizes six maxims, or "subrules," of the Politeness Principle, the most influential of which is the Tact Maxim:

Tact Maxim

a. Minimize cost to other.
b. Maximize benefit to other.

Like the Politeness Principle itself, the Tact Maxim is stated in terms of negative and positive politeness (i.e., being polite by not doing something impolite or being polite by doing something polite). We can see the utility and effect of the Tact Maxim if we examine, for example, direct commands, or straight imperatives, such as the following:

cost to hearer ↑ less polite ↑

1. Move this piano to the top floor.
2. Take out your homework.
3. Sit down.
4. Look at this.
5. Enjoy your trip to England.
6. Have another piece of chocolate cake.

benefit to hearer ↓ more polite ↓

Items (1)-(6) take the form of direct commands, which are generally considered impolite. Indeed, this is often the reason why ESL instructors teach such polite constructions as "Would you mind_____?" "Could you_____?" "May I ask you to_____?" Yet, the examples above clearly show that it is not the form alone which makes direct commands impolite since not all direct commands are impolite. Indeed, as we move from (1)-(6), the direct commands become increasingly polite, with (5) and (6), in normal circumstances, certainly being more polite than impolite. The Tact Maxim helps explain why not all direct commands are impolite. As we increase the benefit or decrease the cost to the hearer, direct commands become more polite. Conversely, if we decrease the benefit or increase the cost to the hearer, direct commands become more impolite. It should be noted here that the Tact Maxim holds not just for verbal behavior but for nonverbal behavior as well.

Although the Tact Maxim helps explain and predict why certain utterances convey more or less politeness than others, it does not suffice in all cases. Hence, Leech (1983) offers five other maxims, each comprised, like the Tact Maxim, of two submaxims to reflect the negative and positive sides of politeness. I reproduce all six of Leech's maxims below and illustrate Maxims II-VI both with an utterance which upholds the maxim in question (hence, a polite utterance in normal circumstances) and with another, somewhat exaggerated, utterance which violates the maxim (hence, an impolite utterance; a question mark before an utterance indicates that it is impolite). The six maxims are as follows:

I. Tact Maxim
    a. Minimize cost to other.
    b. Maximize benefit to other.

II. Generosity Maxim
    a. Minimize benefit to self.
    b. Maximize cost to self.
    1. Please help yourself to the popcorn.
    ?Please help yourself to a piece of popcorn.
    2. Even though tomorrow is Friday, I'll stay an hour after class to help you with your homework.
    ?Because tomorrow is Friday, I'll stay three minutes with you after class to help you with your homework.

III. Approbation Maxim
    a. Minimize dispraise of other.
    b. Maximize praise of other.
    1. You could do better in spelling, Maria.
    ?Your spelling is awful, Maria.
    2. What marvelous improvement you've made in spelling, Maria!
    ?What mediocre improvement you've made in spelling, Maria!

IV. Modesty Maxim
    a. Minimize praise of self.
    b. Maximize dispraise of self.
    1. I can never repay you for all your help.
    Oh, it was nothing.
    ?I know.
    2. You've been a good ESL teacher.
    I've learned through my many errors.
    ?Only 'good'?

V. Agreement Maxim
    a. Minimize disagreement between self and other.
    b. Maximize agreement between self and other.
    1. Teacher, I don't think the last answer was correct.
    Can you give us the correct answer then, Stefan?
    ?Raise your hand when you want to talk, Stefan, and don't call me "teacher"!
    2. Teacher, I don't think the last answer was correct.
    You're absolutely right, Stefan.
    ?You're being very picky again, Stefan.

VI. Sympathy Maxim
    a. Minimize antipathy between self and other.
    b. Maximize sympathy between self and other.
    1. I know you're angry at me, but I'm on your side.
    ?I know you're angry at me, but you deserve it.
    2. I was sorry to hear that you didn't do well on your civics exam.
    ?I was amused to hear that you didn't do well on your civics exam.

Besides claiming that Maxims I-VI constitute part of the Politeness Principle (and thereby characterizing the generation of politeness), Leech makes a stronger claim, namely, that the six maxims and the submaxims that make up each are arranged hierarchically in terms of strength, from strongest to weakest. Thus, in Leech's arrangement, the Tact Maxim has a stronger influence on conversational behavior than the Generosity Maxim, and the Generosity Maxim a stronger influence than the Approbation Maxim, and so on down the line. Further, within each maxim, Subpart *a* (negative politeness) has a stronger influence than Subpart *b* (positive politeness). Hill et al. (1986) find support for the range of maxims but not for the hierarchy, at least not in Japanese culture. While Leech does not go as far as to claim that his proposed hierarchy holds in all cultures or in every situation in any specific culture, the hierarchy, nevertheless, does seem to hold for many cases across cultures. More cross-cultural studies of politeness phenomena will obviously contribute to our understanding.

Even if Leech' s hierarchy of maxims fails to hold for all cultures, it does seem to shed light on at least four general facts about politeness in many cultures. First, it suggests that the number of general rules governing politeness is finite, probably small in number, certainly much fewer than all the individual manifestations and variations of politeness found throughout the world. (This fact should bring some encouragement to ESL teachers who deal with a multiplicity of cultures.) Indeed, if the rules governing politeness were not finite and small in number, humans would find it difficult, if not impossible, to learn such rules. Second, and more specifically, Leech's hierarchy suggests why negative politeness (avoiding discord) generally has wider and more frequent manifestation across cultures than positive politeness (seeking to establish or re-establish concord). Leech's hierarchy captures this fact because, for each maxim proposed, negative politeness is rated as having a stronger influence than positive politeness. Third, Leech's hierarchy, particularly Maxims I-IV, demonstrates that politeness is oriented more toward others than to self. That is, the hierarchy captures the folk wisdom that being polite means showing more concern for others than for oneself. Lastly, and decidedly more controversial, Leech's hierarchy sheds light on why certain maxims gain precedence when two or more maxims come into play—or, as it may be, come into conflict. For example, let us say that in a culture where gifts are normally exchanged X wishes to show generosity by offering a special gift to Y. After considering several gifts, X decides to offer Y a bottle of imported wine instead of a Mercedes-Benz, since giving the latter will put Y in dire straits to reciprocate. In deciding to give the imported wine rather than a Mercedes-Benz, X accedes to the higher-ranked Tact Maxim rather than the lower-ranked Generosity Maxim. As a classroom example, we might imagine a situation in which a student wins a science award offered by the school, but the teacher forgets to congratulate the student. If given a choice of one of two correctives (but not both), should the teacher apologize (following the Modesty Maxim of maximizing dispraise of self) or congratulate (following the Approbation Maxim of maximizing praise of other)? In all likelihood, the teacher would favor upholding the higher-ranked Approbation Maxim. While Leech's hierarchy cannot account for the choice of maxims in all situations and in all cultural contexts, its utility lies in that it does help in many cases.

One probable reason why Leech's hierarchy does not always provide clear-cut guidance for teachers (at least for Anglo-American ESL teachers) lies in their implementation of two seemingly opposed teaching strategies. In accord with their own culture and teaching philosophy, Anglo-American teachers often seek to establish in the classroom a sense of informality (as opposed to the formality of more rigidly structured cultures). This informality frequently comes at the cost of discipline (or self-discipline), another valuable component in learning which develops more readily and efficiently within a formal environment. One of the greatest challenges of teaching, of course, is maintaining an effective balance between the informal and formal to accomplish pedagogical ends. Should teachers keep socially distant or move closer in their interactions with students? Is there any safe and all- (or nearly all-) purpose middle ground which is neither too remote nor too intimate? What complicates this search is that students from different cultures are frequently neither accustomed to nor expect the same degree of informality (or formality) sought by their teachers. Whatever the solution here, it seems that ESL teachers would hardly go disastrously wrong if they put into practice Leech's six maxims of politeness, with the important proviso that, in cases of conflict between maxims, the Tact Maxim takes precedence over other maxims.

We can enhance Leech's six maxims by bringing in some rules of politeness formulated by Lakoff. Lakoff's rules of politeness prove especially useful for our purposes because they help explain several areas of politeness where Leech's maxims fall short. Lakoff's rules (1975) are just three in number:

1. Formality—Keep aloof;
2. Deference—Give options;
3. Camaraderie—Show sympathy.

Compared to Leech's maxims, Lakoff's rules of politeness are more general than Leech's. Her three rules, to a large extent, serve for six of Leech's. Lakoff's rules also operate on a different dimension than Leech's maxims. Where Leech formulates his maxims to correlate with certain positive human qualities, or virtues (e.g., tact, generosity, modesty), Lakoff formulates her rules to correlate more with certain interactional dispositions or stances, particularly as they are affected by social distance, rank, and role. Of her three rules, only Rule 3 (on sympathy) seems directly translatable to one of Leech's maxims (his Sympathy Maxim). Finally, unlike Leech, Lakoff does not hypothesize any hierarchic ranking for her rules. She does state that different cultures assign different priorities to the rules, with Germans favoring formality, Japanese, deference, and Americans, camaraderie (1975); nevertheless, all cultures utilize these rules to convey politeness.

With Lakoff's rules, we might usefully view her three dispositions or stances—formality, deference, and camaraderie—as basic (but fluctuating) components of politeness and, thus, as goals to be sought. If so, we could view each rule as consisting of a goal (formality, deference, and camaraderie) and a means of achieving that goal (keeping aloof, giving options, and showing sympathy, respectively). Thus, Rule 1 seeks as a goal (or, alternatively, results in) formality and has as its means "keeping aloof." Some linguistic means of keeping aloof are using elevated or technical vocabulary (*conflagration* instead of *fire*, *domicile* instead of *home*), uncontracted negatives or uncontracted auxiliary verbs (e.g., *is not* vs. *isn't*; *could have* vs. *could've*), or by showing reserve in conversation by minimal or decreased participation. Some languages (e.g., German, Italian, Japanese, Korean) distinguish between formal and informal pronouns, similar to what English did in an earlier period with *you* versus the now archaic *thou*. Lakoff's Rule 2 seeks deference as a goal and has as its means "giving options." Some linguistic ways of giving options include asking for something rather than demanding it, using euphemisms, allowing speakers to correct their own errors rather than correcting the errors for them, using certain weakening expressions, or "hedges" (e.g., *kind of*, *perhaps*, *may*, *I think*) to suggest uncertainty. Another common way to show deference is the use of *please* (in commands and requests), which conveys optionality by adding the meaning 'if you wish or like.' Rule 3 seeks camaraderie as a goal and has as its means "showing sympathy." Showing sympathy essentially involves making the other person feel good (or better) by being friendly. Some linguistic means of showing sympathy include not only offering condolences when due but also stressing likenesses rather than differences (e.g., speaking in the same dialect or style as the addressee), refraining from criticism, relating and extoling shared experiences.

Although cultures differ in the emphasis given to each of Lakoff's rules, the rules offer further insight into the general nature of politeness and its conveyance across cultures. Indeed, Lakoff's rules directly explain certain aspects of politeness which Leech's maxims do not. For example, Leech's maxims do not directly and clearly explain why an utterance like, "The line begins over here, buddy" sounds impolite when directed to a stranger, but not "The line begins over here, sir." (The Approbation Maxim, particularly the submaxim of minimizing dispraise of other, may help somewhat in explaining the impoliteness of "The line begins over here, buddy," but it does not really pinpoint the reason why the utterance comes across as dispraise.) The difference in the degree of politeness of the two utterances, of course, relates to the choice of *buddy* vs. *sir*, but, given the situation between speaker and hearer in this case, a more revealing explanation lies in Lakoff's Rule 1. More specifically, by using the informal *buddy* in a situation where greater formality is called for, the speaker violates the formality rule of keeping aloof (and, hence, the resulting impoliteness). It is worth pointing out here that, if the speaker and hearer were close friends, the utterance "The line begins over here, buddy," would not be impolite, a judgment supported by Lakoff's Rule 3 concerning camaraderie.

We saw earlier in utterances (1)-(6) how Leech's Tact Maxim helps explain the increasing politeness in direct commands, even though direct commands are usually considered impolite. More specifically, we saw how commands can increase in impoliteness (or politeness) depending on the cost imposed on the addressee. Leech's six maxims, however, do not really elucidate why a direct command like "Wash the blackboard" comes across as more impolite than requests like "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" or "Will you wash the blackboard?" The crucial factor here cannot be the cost to the hearer since the cost remains the same in the three utterances. Whether the utterance takes the outward form of an imperative, declarative, or question, the hearer still bears the same burden (i.e., the cost) of washing the blackboard. But why is it that the imperative ("Wash the blackboard") sounds less polite than the nonimperatives ("I'd like you to wash the blackboard" and "Will you wash the blackboard?")? Another way of phrasing the question is what exactly is it about a direct command that makes it less polite than a request, not just in Anglo-American culture but probably all cultures?

Lakoff's Rule 2 (Deference—Give options) helps provide an answer. By their nature, direct commands leave no room for options. A speaker who issues a direct command normally assumes that the hearer is capable of fulfilling the command and will fulfill it (otherwise the speaker would not issue the command). If so, a direct command conveys just what its literal meaning conveys, with, at least from the speaker's perspective, no ifs, ands, or buts about the matter. In such a situation, the hearer must either comply with the command or invite conflict with the speaker, which, for all practical purposes, amounts to a do-it-or-else situation. Indeed, the only way for a hearer to "wiggle out" of following a direct command, outside of flatly refusing to do it (which risks coming into conflict with the speaker) is to try to convince the speaker that one or more of the assumed conditions for successfully fulfilling the command do not hold (e.g., "I'm very busy now," "I hurt my back yesterday," "Antonio has already done it"). In brief, direct commands offer no real options for the hearer.

In contrast to direct commands, requests offer a bit more maneuverability for the addressee. By nature, requests, specifically indirect requests like "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" and "Will you wash the blackboard?" (vs. a direct request like "I request that you wash the blackboard") convey both a literal and nonliteral meaning. Thus, on one level of interpretation, the indirect request "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" conveys a literal meaning, an assertion that the speaker desires the hearer to wash the blackboard; on another level (and under the right circumstances) the same utterance carries a simultaneous nonliteral meaning, namely, that equivalent to "I request that you wash the blackboard." The same holds for the indirect request "Will you wash the blackboard?" On one level of interpretation, the utterance carries the literal meaning of the question itself (i.e., Is the hearer in the immediate future going to wash the blackboard?); on another level, that of "I request that you wash the blackboard." If such requests have both a literal meaning and a nonliteral meaning, the hearer could conceivably orient to the literal meaning rather than the nonliteral meaning. (Think of a situation where the speaker utters "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" and the hearer unfacetiously responds "It's nice that you'd like me to wash the blackboard.") The fact that indirect requests carry both a literal and nonliteral meaning makes it possible for the speaker to strategically—and politely—offer an extra option to the hearer. This extra option may not, of course, be actually usable or even genuine, but it's the thought behind it that counts. If the foregoing is true, then Lakoff's Rule 2 (Deference—Give options) directly answers why the requests "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" and "Will you wash the blackboard?" are more polite than the straight command "Wash the blackboard."

Now granted that the two requests above are more polite than the direct command on the basis of offering more options, why is it that "Will you wash the blackboard?" sounds more polite than "I'd like you to wash the blackboard"? (For similar problems, see Carrell & Konnecker, 1981.) The answer here cannot lie simply in the number of options since they are the same. Lakoff's Rule 2, however, is still relevant here. "Will you wash the blackboard?" differs from "I'd like you to wash the blackboard" in that the speaker of the first utterance expresses a higher degree of uncertainty that the addressee will actually fulfill the request; that is, the speaker of "Will you wash the blackboard?" weakens, or hedges, the request more. This greater uncertainty does not numerically increase the options, but it does give the addressee a freer choice to refuse the request (a different kind of optionality) and, hence, the higher degree of politeness.

Although Leech's maxims of politeness do not directly explain the difference in politeness between "Will you wash the blackboard?" and "I'd like you to wash the blackboard," Leech (1983, p. 108) does state that, generally, indirect speech acts (like the two indirect requests just cited) are more polite than direct ones not only "because they increase the degree of optionality," but also "because the more indirect an illocution [i.e., speech act] is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be." Leech, thus, identifies the degree of indirectness (or conversely, directness) as another crucial factor in conveying politeness in some utterances. We see the influence of this factor if we arrange various forms of requests along a scale of directness/indirectness:

directness ↕ less polite

7. Wash the blackboard.
8. I'd like you to wash the blackboard.
9. Will you wash the black board?
10. Can you wash the black board?
11. Would you mind washing the blackboard?
12. Could you possibly wash the blackboard?
13. I was wondering if you could possibly wash the blackboard.

indirectness more polite

Although some cultural variance occurs here (Blum-Kulka, 1987), we can say that, like the degree of optionality, the degree of indirectness/directness (which is obviously related to Lakoff's degree of uncertainty) can play a crucial role in conveying politeness (or impoliteness). That is, the more indirect the request, the more polite it is. This influence occurs not only in requests but also in, for example, condolences, as shown by the increasing indirectness and the accompanying increase in politeness of the following:

14. I was sorry to hear that your parrot died.
15. I was sorry to hear about your parrot.
16. I was sorry to hear. (or, as in the oft-used line in sympathy cards, "Words cannot express my sorrow.")

We might contrast the increasing indirectness of (14)-(16) and resulting increase in politeness with a baldly direct and unsuccessful attempt at condolence, as in (17):

17. ?I was sorry to hear that your parrot died of tuberculosis after suffering in agony for three months.

I believe the kinds of general politeness rules offered by Lakoff and Leech, if attended to in the classroom, can help teachers, if not decrease, at least help clarify the basis of, many potential and actual conflicts. This is so because these politeness rules seem to cut across cultural boundaries. Where they do not adequately explain, they at least offer a set of useful concepts to examine further just where and how the offense occurred (e.g., a differing view of what constitutes generosity, modesty? a differing hierarchy of maxims in a certain situation?). These kinds of rules even shed some light on the conflict in teaching strategies mentioned earlier (i.e., that of trying to create an egalitarian classroom atmosphere and also an atmosphere conducive to developing discipline or self-discipline). We can recast this conflict into, essentially, a conflict in application of two of Lakoff's rules of politeness, specifically, that between Rule 3 (Camaraderie: Show sympathy) and Rule 1 (Formality: Keep aloof). If adhered to in the classroom, one rule says get close to students; the other says keep a distance. At the least, the two rules help us frame the conflict in a clear and succinct way. From a more culture-specific perspective, the two rules help us state the observation that Anglo-American ESL teachers sometimes encounter cultural conflicts because they emphasize the camaraderie rule at the expense of the formality rule (a rule which students from more rigidly structured cultures are more accustomed to in the classroom). Lakoff's rules shed light here in still another way. Lakoff states that while it is possible to adhere simultaneously to Rule 1 (Formality: Keep aloof) and Rule 2 (Deference: Give options) and simultaneously to Rule 2 and Rule 3 (Camaraderie: Show sympathy), it is impossible to adhere simultaneously to Rule 1 (Formality: Keep aloof) and Rule 3 (Camaraderie: Show sympathy) because they are inherently contradictory. One cannot attain camaraderie by keeping aloof or gain formality by showing sympathy. What this means, of course, is that ESL teachers cannot achieve both camaraderie and formality at the same time, at least, not with the same verbal or nonverbal act. It also means that camaraderie *always* comes at the expense of formality and that formality *always* comes at the expense of camaraderie. It does not mean, however, that both goals cannot be attained; they can, but only in separate acts. Achieving an effective manifestation, demarcation, and balance, of both camaraderie and formality probably represents for many Anglo-American teachers the greatest interactional challenge in ESL classrooms.

If the broad generalizations about politeness examined and illustrated in this study hold across most, if not all, cultures, then ESL teachers can use such generalizations both to guide their own interactions with students in ESL classrooms and to help explain to students why certain utterances in English (and their equivalents in other languages) are considered more polite than others. Although the study of politeness universals can by no means replace the study of politeness phenomena in individual cultures (indeed, the only way we can discover universals is to examine the individual cultures), a knowledge of politeness universals provides a solid and fruitful basis for understanding politeness phenomena in individual cultures. In the end, learning about politeness universals reveals to both students and teachers how different cultures, at their core, are really very much alike in their interpersonal goals and means.

It is easy to miss the broader applicability—and implications—of politeness universals in cross-cultural settings. In Roderick's (1989) summary of a 1989 *Los Angeles Times* poll, residents of Los Angeles (who constitute the most culturally diverse population of any urban area in the United States) identified the following as their "pet peeves" of Los Angeles: parking (24%), bad drivers (22%), rudeness (20%), dirty streets (18%), potholes (16%), waiting in lines (15%), litter on beaches (14%), panhandlers (14%), mini-malls (10%), movie prices (4%), stupid local television news (4%), restaurant prices (3%), other (22%). If we interpret these pet peeves in the context of Leech's six maxims and Lakoff's three rules of politeness, "rudeness" would seem much more pervasive and disliked than it appears. (For example, isn't the littering of beaches and streets really impolite behavior, and aren't many bad drivers also impolite drivers?) Politeness phenomena become even more revealing if we bring in the fact that 48% of respondents in the survey indicated that they had considered moving out of the Los Angeles area, giving the following as their chief reasons: crime, bad place to raise children, high cost of living, traffic, pollution, quality of education. Some of these reasons obviously relate to politeness factors, and certainly crime (which ranked first among virtually all ethnic groups surveyed) represents the ultimate in impoliteness.

The importance of politeness and politeness universals, both in and outside the ESL classroom, depends ultimately on how we view politeness. If we view it as mere embellishment or decoration, like fancy icing on a cake, then we relegate politeness to the realm of finishing schools, Miss Manners advice columns, and Emily Post handbooks. However, if we believe that all cultures have as their basis of survival and advancement, not aggression and conflict but cooperation, then politeness is not a decorative element added to behavior, but rather a driving force behind behavior.

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English as an International Language: An Overview

Brian Paltridge

English is now well-established as the lingua franca of world-wide communication. It is the language of international business, the language of international conferences, the language of international education and research, the language of the international communications network, the language of international popular music and the language of international travellers. A Thai asking directions in Malaysia will probably make his or her first attempt at communication in English. Likewise, a Japanese company doing business with any part of Europe is most likely to conduct its dealings in English. It is the native language of neither group but it is the language they will most likely use to communicate. It is now the language used for international communication by a large number of non-English speaking countries, both with other non-English speaking and native English speaking countries.

English as an International Language

The term "English as an International Language" derives from a conference held at the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii in 1978 to discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the increasing uses of English as a world language. It refers to the functions of English in international contexts, not to any given form of the language. That is to say it refers to the use of English by people of different nations and different cultures in order to communicate with each other. It does not refer to any new reduced form or emerging variety of English (Smith, 1983a; Davies, 1989). By and large, the term refers to spoken English language interaction in international contexts, although, for some writers, such as Prabhu (1987), it refers more to academic, educational written interaction.

English as an International Language (EIL) is different in many ways from English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL). In both EFL and ESL situations one of the people involved in the communication is a native speaker, or at least it is assumed that this is so. However, although this may at times also be the case for people using English as an International Language, it very often is not. Frequently, nonnative speakers using English in an international context are involved in interaction only with other nonnative speakers. Indeed some speakers may rarely, if ever, have occasion to speak with native speakers. Thus, as EFL and ESL teachers train nonnative speakers to interact with native speakers, so too must they train them to interact with other nonnative speakers. The primary focus, then, in English as an International Language, is on intercultural[*], interlinguistic interactions in international communication contexts (Campbell at al, 1983).

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[*] Use of the terms intercultural and cross-cultural in this paper follows the distinctions outlined by Damen (1987). That is, intercultural is used "to indicate interaction between persons and groups from different cultural areas" whereas the term cross-cultural is used to focus on "the differences to be found between interacting individuals and groups who do not share common cultural patterns and orientations"(p. 36). Thus, following general usage in the field of intercultural communication, this paper uses the terms "intercultural interaction" and "intercultural communication" on the one hand, and "cross-cultural awareness" and "cross-cultural contexts" on the other (p. 36).

Communication and English as an International Language

When speakers from different countries and cultures interact, more than one set of social and cultural norms and assumptions are at work. Information and argument, for example, are organised differently in different cultures. The meaning behind different speech acts such as suggestions and refusals also varies. Communication problems often arise, then, because of these different sets of underlying cultural norms and assumptions.

Problems of misinterpretation and misunderstanding also occur at times between native speakers of English. But the possibility for such misunderstanding is greatly increased in the context of English as an International Language. Thus, nonnative speakers, as well as native speakers, need training in how to recognize and cope with these problems and develop strategies for overcoming them. In international English contexts, the responsibility for effective communication rests with *both* parties, the speaker and the listener, be they native or non-native speakers of English.

Culture and English as an International Language

In most EFL and ESL programs, emphasis is given to the culture of the target language group, especially to those features which are important for effective communication, such as the social and cultural assumptions underlying the social and linguistic behaviour of the target English speaking group(s). When teaching English in Sweden, for example, it makes sense to incorporate various different English language and cultural norms into the classroom. However, it makes little sense, if any, to do so in an Asian classroom, if the learners' future use of English will be primarily with other nonnative speakers and only rarely, if ever, with native speakers. In such contexts English represents no specific foreign culture. A Japanese speaking to or corresponding with a South American, for example, expects no assimilation in the interaction either way and in such situations has no need to draw on any knowledge of particularly British, American, or Australian, cultural values or norms (George, 1978). It would, indeed, seem strange if either party behaved in a way more characteristic of some English speaking group than according to their own cultural norms and values. The language in such contexts is international in character and is not bound to any one culture. It becomes a means of expressing the speaker's culture and not an imitation of the culture of any English speaking group.

Models of English and English as an International Language

To meet the needs of effective global communication, a number of models of English have been proposed for teaching in the non-English speaking world. Quirk (1978) has proposed a model for use in international affairs and world-wide English teaching, which he calls nuclear English. He proposes the teaching of a systematically reduced form of English in situations where the attainment of one particular variety of English is neither appropriate nor necessary. Irene Wong (1982) prefers what she calls Utilitarian English. By this she means the acceptance of a nonnative variety of English which is already spoken in many parts of the Third World as being a legitimate variety for the Third World for its various English language communication needs.

Mary Ashworth (1985), on the other hand, holds the view that standard English is the best model to employ where English is used as an International Language. However, she suggests that a local form of English may be the preferred model where English is used for intranational purposes, that is, where it is used for wider internal communication for educational, commercial or political purposes (e.g., in countries such as Nigeria or Zambia where it has the official status of a lingua franca for peoples of differing linguistic and ethnic backgrounds).

Davies (1989) sees *prestige* as the factor that matters most in choosing a standard variety. Other factors he points to are *similarity*, whether the variety is sufficiently similar to other models of English to be mutually intelligible, and *adequacy*, whether the variety is able to perform the functions its speech community requires. The particular importance of *intelligibility* is highlighted by Davies who points out that without intelligibility there is, indeed, no international speech community and no standard.

Researchers with a special interest in English as an International Language at the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii identify three basic areas which they believe are essential for effective intercultural, interlinguistic interaction for speakers operating in international contexts, all of which have implications for an international second language learning curriculum (Smith, 1983b).

For them, the most important area is *intelligibility*. The speaker must speak clearly enough for the message to be understood and the listener must make an effort to understand. Testimony to the fact that this often does not occur is given by the frequency with which native English speaking interpreters at international conferencesare asked to give an intelligible and appropriate rendition of a nonnative speaker's speech so that both native and other nonnative speakers in the audience are able to follow it. This is usually done discreetly and without the knowledge of the nonnative speaker, but the fact that it is necessary at all indicates that neither party are succeeding in their respective roles as speaker and listener.

The second area they identify is *grammatical acceptability*. Value judgements are often placed on language which varies too much from what is often called Standard English. If someone says "I miss too much my mother" there is little doubt about the message but an opinion is formed as to the speaker's education and language use which can inhibit effective communication (Smith, 1983b).

The third area identified is *social appropriateness*. English, like any language, can be grammatically correct but still used inappropriately. This area, in a sense, is the most difficult for nonnative speakers to deal with, especially when there are differing social and cultural norms at play, and where, as Baxter points out, appropriateness relates not necessarily to the norms of native speakers of English but instead to appropriateness in the context of using English cross-culturally (Baxter, 1983). However, if both parties in such situations realize they *share* the responsibility for effective communication and respond accordingly, then an enormous step toward effective international and intercultural communication is made.

A Model for Intercultural Communicative Competence

Baxter (1983) expands the discussion of effective intercultural communication by drawing together the areas of culture learning, intercultural communication learning and language learning. He discusses the all too often separation of intercultural communication training and English language training and points out how much of the intercultural communication training literature fails to see language in specific terms and how little the intercultural field has influenced English language teaching and research. This view is also expressed by other writers such as Quinn and Drousiotou (1985)who state quite categorically that "cultural understanding is a shallow business unless it has a linguistic dimension" (p. 158).

Baxter proposes a model for intercultural communicative competence which draws on Canale and Swain's (1980) notion of strategic competence. He points out how shared linguistic competence will not necessarily ensure successful intercultural communication, and builds communication skills into his model which he draws from the literature on intercultural communication. Some of the skills he adds are the ability to read nonverbal behaviour, the ability to help another person say what they want to say in the target language, and the ability to anticipate what another person will say and fill in the missing words. He also draws on the work of Candlin (1981) for the inclusion of interpretive strategies in his model, Richards (1980) for conversation strategies, and Tarone (1977) for communication strategies.

Thus, Baxter's approach to English for Intercultural Communication integrates an expanded notion of strategic competence with theories of sociolinguistic and linguistic competenc.

Implications for Language and Culture Learning Programs

Nonnative speakers of English, then, need training in communicating, not just with native speakers, but with other nonnative speakers as well. Native speakers of English also need training in the use of English in international settings. Both must be made aware of what can go wrong in intercultural communication contexts. They must be sensitized to the possibility of misunderstandings and be prepared to deal with them (Smith, 1983a).

Smith gives some guidelines for ensuring effective communication across cultures which could be profitably incorporated into language and culture learning programs. He divides these into two categories, one for the speaker and one for the listener. He says that speakers should remain natural. They should not speak louder than usual, exaggerate their enunciation, or use exaggerated gestures. They should avoid slang, jargon, and figures of speech, and they should avoid long monologues and limit the number of ideas in each sentence. They should beware of trying to be humorous unless they know the listener and the culture well, they should tactfully ask questions to determine whether or not the listener has understood the main points, and at the end of the discussion, they should paraphrase the essential items with statements like "The following points seem to have been made...". Listeners should relax and display calmness and patience. If the speaker is talking too fast or too softly they should request them to speak slower or louder, and they should provide appropriate feedback to reassure the speaker they are attending to what is being said. If the speaker is pausing, they should wait rather than take the conversation lead away from them. They should pay attention to tone of voice, gesture, and intonation. They should use strategies for checking meaning as well as rephrasing and repeating key ideas from the conversation.

Other writers who have discussed the issue of intercultural communication and implications for language and culture learning programs are Gumperz, Jupp, and Roberts (1979), Gumpertz (1982), Gumperz and Roberts (1980), Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), Thomas (1983), Clyne (1985), Richards and Sukwiwat (1985), Damen (1987), Strevens (1987) and Tarone and Yule (1989). An attempt to draw together some of the areas identified by these and other writers can be found in the appendix at the end of this paper.

Materials for Teaching and Learning in English as an International Language Programs

The content of teaching and learning materials for English as an International Language should aim to integrate culture learning, intercultural communication learning, and language learning within the context of the more general (or indeed specific)language learning program. Content should be varied and not tied to any particular English speaking country nor bound to any particular cultural bias. This means that many materials prepared for an ESL or EFL situation may not be appropriate for situations in which the learners' major use of English may be in international contexts and in interactions with other nonnative speakers.

Learners should be exposed to as wide a range of cultural experiences as the learning context will allow. The emphasis should be on international contexts yet at the same time remain culturally informative in the broadest and most international sense in order to provide the shared knowledge on which so much of effective communication depends (Quinn and Drousiotou, 1985).

Teaching materials which focus on international language learning contexts are *Talk and Listen* by Richard Via and Larry Smith (1983) and *English as an International Language: A Writing Approach* by Eva Weiner and Larry Smith (1983). In Britain, a number of course books have been published which aim at a world market and, in particular, the student abroad who may never visit Britain or any English speaking country. An example of this kind of course book is *Orbit* by Jeremy Harrison and Peter Menzies (1986). Other publications such as *Beyond Language* (Levine and Adelman, 1982) integrate language learning with cultural awareness training.

The Culture Puzzle by Deena Levine, Jim Baxter, and Piper McNulty (1987), *Communicating in Context* by Kathy J. Irving (1986), and *Culturally Speaking* by Rhona B Genzel and Martha Graves Cummings (1986) are examples of texts which aim to integrate language learning with culture learning by drawing on and adapting material from the field of intercultural communication studies. Materials produced by the National Centre for Industrial Language Training in Britain for developing intercultural communication skills in industrial settings are also particularly relevant for such learning contexts (see Gumperz and Roberts,1980). Materials may also, obviously, be drawn from the more general field of intercultural communication training (e.g., Brislin and Landis, 1983 and Brislin et al, 1986).

Procedures for Teaching and Learning in English as an International Language Programs

A number of particular teaching and learning procedures have been identified by authors such as Nemetz Robinson (1985), Valdez (1986), Damen (1987), and Wajnryb (1988) as being particularly suitable for developing intercultural communication skills in the classroom. Other approaches and methods may also be drawn from the range of language teaching and learning approaches and techniques as described in the work of writers such as Littlewood (1981), Harmer (1983) and Richards and Rodgers (1986).

Wajnryb's groupings of the dominant methodologies used in intercultural communication training include the *academic, observational, media-based, comparative, cognitive, interactive, experiential, and one based on conflict analysis.*

The *academic* approach uses lectures and/or readings on relevant topics as the vehicle for imparting cultural knowledge. The *observational* approach involves the learners observing aspects of the target culture or having access to native speakers who inform them of certain aspects of the target culture through interviews or question and answer sessions. The *media-based* approach uses film and video to provide information and cultural content. The *comparative* approach involves the learners seeking out and identifying cultural differences by taking the learners' native culture as the starting point in a reflective and non-judgemental way.

The *cognitive* approach is designed to raise awareness of cultural factors so as to reduce culture stress. A typical example of this kind of activity is the "culture assimilator" (Brislin et al, 1986) in which learners read about a particular conflict-based situation and then make a choice from a number of possible different solutions to the problem. The learners' choices are then matched with choices made by native speaker informants and differences are then discussed.

The *interactive*, awareness-oriented approach involves interaction with other learners, native speakers or specially constructed materials with the aim of affecting learners' sensitivities to cultural issues. Examples of such activities are culture capsules and culture clusters (Damen, 1987) in which learner awareness is raised through interaction with texts which explain typical incidents or events in a particular culture.

The *experiential* approach draws on the learners' own experiences of intercultural "failed encounters". Learners act out another class member's failed experience in order to analyse and identify the source of the failure. A new enactment which incorporates agreed upon changes is then carried out, effecting a successful resolution of the problem.

The approach *based on conflict analysis* involves placing the learners in a context where they have expectations of a certain sort of behaviour but find themselves faced with something completely different. In the ensuing class discussion, the nature of the conflict in the interaction is drawn out and examined.

Damen also describes an extensive range of methodologies and techniques for promoting culture and intercultural communication learning. She warns, however, that many of the strategies and techniques of culture training are culture-bound and Western in perspective. She cautions us to beware of imposing teaching and learning procedures in a classroom where other approaches and methodologies may be more appropriate (Damen, 1987).

Finally, Nemetz-Robinson (1985), in her discussion of teaching and learning procedures for developing intercultural communication skills, warns of leading learners to a "can't do" belief in their interactional capabilities which she describes as "learned helplessness" and emphasizes the importance of "learning to cope through mastery" (1985, p.89).

Conclusion

The international status of English, then, requires a change in the content and cultural bias of English teaching in many parts of the world, particularly in those countries where most students are not likely to travel to English speaking countries, but will rather use English to communicate with other nonnative speakers. Native and nonnative speakers alike need training in intercultural communication skills. Special attention needs to be given to intercultural communication learning along with culture learning and language learning. Learners need to develop an informed awareness of the kinds of cultural and linguistic differences that can impair effective intercultural and interlinguistic communication and develop strategies to deal with them.

English is no longer the language of England and America, and a classroom which focuses on using English in international contextsneeds to reflect this change. Such classrooms must reflect the kind of English interaction in which the learners will inevitably find themselves. Native and nonnative speakers need to learn to help each other when they interact and to see the success of this interaction as a shared responsibility. All this needs to be done without a sense of linguistic chauvinism, nor, indeed, in a way that reflects attempts at either linguistic or cultural imperialism. Such a classroom needs to incorporate a realistic understanding of the uses of English in different cultural contexts, as well as an explicit acknowledgement of the fact that in international contexts English is the property of the users, native and nonnative alike, and that both need training for effective international and intercultural communication (Smith, 1987).

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APPENDIX

Other writers who have discussed the issue of intercultural communication and implications for language and culture learning programs are Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts (1979), Gumperz (1982), Gumperz and Roberts (1980), Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), Thomas (1983), Clyne (1985), Richards and Sukwiwat (1985), Damen (1987), Strevens (1987), and Tarone and Yule (1989). The following is an attempt to draw together some of the areas of attention identified by these writers, and others referred to in this paper, as warranting particular attention in international, cross-cultural language learning curricula.

Learning Objectives

A) An understanding of...

- different cultural assumptions that underlie situations and appropriate behaviour and intentions within them
- different ways of structuring information and argument across cultures
- different ways of speaking and different linguistic devices which signal connection and logic, meaning and attitude
- different social formulae and conventions (e.g., giving and receiving gifts)
- contexts of culture against which to interpret communication
- speech act rules and styles in different cultures,
- honorific rules in different cultures
- discourse rules in different cultures
- channel or medium rules regarding modes of communication (i.e., spoken vs written language, language accompanying action vs language as reflection)
- interlocutor rules such as who is allowed to say what to whom
- the use of linguistic irony and metaphor
- appropriacy and non-appropriacy of certain topics in different cultures

turn-taking rules as they vary from culture to culture
the principles of conversational co-operation

B) The development of...

communicative flexibility (ie. the ability to remain flexible to the ideas, beliefs or points of view of others)
interaction management (i.e., the ability to manage interactions in which one is taking part)
tolerance for ambiguity (i.e., the ability to react to unexpected or ambiguous situations without excessive discomfort)
interpretive strategies (i.e., the ability to monitor, clarify and interpret meanings)
an appropriate level of communicative intelligibility in English language use
grammatical acceptability in English language use (e.g., word order, use of conjunctions, appropriate use of personal pronouns, structural mastery of reported speech)
social appropriateness in English language use

Language and communication skills and competencies

discussing common topics
avoiding certain topics
observing and interpreting cultural behaviour
talking about one's own language and culture
looking at one's own experiences and cultural assumptions
explaining one's own cultural point of view
using forms of address
the use of politeness formulae
highlighting information in a conversation
repetition of key topic words and information in a conversation to give emphasis
focussing the listener's attention on a main point
contrasting a point
expressing reference within a conversation
giving feedback and the use of back-channel signals
drawing on cultural and social knowledge to establish meanings
drawing on world knowledge to establish meanings
drawing on contextual knowledge to establish meanings
drawing on linguistic knowledge to establish meanings
the use of repair strategies in communication situations
the use of communication strategies, such as approximation, circumlocution, word coinage, literal translation, borrowing, asking for assistance, mime, paraphrase, and topic shift
the use of fillers, small talk and phatic communication in the maintenance of conversational interaction
appropriacy of speaking and refraining from speaking in different contexts
identifying intercultural mis-communication and seeking to repair the situation
recognising the intended illocution of indirect speech acts
recognising definite and indefinite invitations
using appropriate conversational routines in different contexts
using different levels of speech in different conversational contexts
following shifts in style
anticipating what is to come in a conversation
distinguishing old from new, or primary from secondary information
taking turns in a conversation
holding a turn in a conversation
getting back to a topic, or changing a topic
keeping a conversation going
taking longer turns of talk
dealing with slips, errors, and hesitation
initiating discussion
selecting and organising information for discussion
linking parts of discourse together
asking, answering, and avoiding questions in a discussion
interrupting in a discussion
summarising the main points of a conversation
the use of prosodic features such as tone of voice, stress, intonation, pitch, level and rhythm to...
  express and interpret the relationships between sentences in a piece of conversation,
  express and interpret finality in a conversation,
  express and interpret distinctions between principle parts of a message (e.g., topic vs comment, given vs new, important vs not important),

express and interpret contrastiveness in utterances,
express and interpret emotion in an utterance,
the expression and interpretation of features of non-verbal communication, such as eye contact, personal space, gesture, facial expression, posture, position of hands

Language functions

opening and closing conversations
entering into a conversation
issuing and responding to greetings and farewells
making introductions
meeting other people
complimenting and showing appreciation
extending invitations
responding to invitations
interrupting in a conversation
asking for focussed repetition
asking for clarification
checking information
indicating understanding
checking understanding
checking meaning
asking for extra information
asking non-judgemental questions
avoiding answering questions
correcting misunderstandings
expressing agreement and disagreement

Content areas

Intercultural Communication
Culture Learning
Non-Verbal Communication
Interpersonal Communication
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Cooperative Learning in a Humanistic English Class

Kanchana Prapphal

This paper presents cooperative learning as an effective way to involve EFL students in using English and to make learning more enjoyable. This approach helps build rapport and, in the words of Moskowitz, fosters a climate of "caring and sharing" in the classroom.

A study conducted on an English class at the Chulalongkorn University Language Institute illustrates how cooperative learning fosters commitment to tasks, and encourages students to work cooperatively, to learn to be problem solvers, to become knowers rather than merely assimilators, and to act as evaluators and assessors. An informal evaluation of the study indicates that cooperative learning is a promising humanistic approach which increases student participation in EFL classes in the Thai context. It appears to facilitate the learning process both cognitively and affectively.

Cooperative Learning

Kagan (1985) describes the cooperative learning system as consisting of team building, management techniques, and rewards based on a complex system of points. He presents these five basic types of cooperative learning: 1) *peer tutoring*, where teammates teach each other to carry out given tasks; 2) *jigsaws*, in which each member of a group is given a piece of information and must share that information with the others in the group to complete a task; 3) *cooperative projects*, where the members of a group work together to complete a group project; 4) *cooperative, individualized projects*, where students work alone on a particular assignment or project, but evaluations of their individual progress contribute to a group grade; 5) *cooperative interaction*, where each student is graded individually although completion of the task requires a cooperative effort. Richard-Amato (1988) views cooperative learning as a management technique. She suggests that "in cooperative learning, students help other students within groups of four to five persons in an effort to reach goals. Adaptations of cooperative learning can be effective at many age levels from the late elementary grades up through adult levels. It can be used in both second and foreign language teaching situations." (p. 193)

Teaching Materials

Cooperative learning utilizes materials which Rodgers (1988) categorizes as manufactured, modelled, modified, and mined. *Manufactured materials* are commercial texts. *Modelled materials* are those prepared by teachers based on, or supplementing, commercial materials. *Modified materials* are those taken from non-language learning sources and modified for language learning purposes, such as jigsaw materials—stories cut up into sections which are distributed among individual group members who then must share their information with the rest of the group in order to accomplish a specific task. Finally, *mined materials* are those from authentic sources.

Prabhu makes a distinction between course materials and source materials. The former refers to "the inputs to be presented to learners, in the order in which they are to be presented. They constitute both the teaching content and the teaching agenda, in the sense that their units are easily usable (and meant to be used) as lesson plans." However, source materials are "those which provide a range of possible inputs, without envisaging that all of them will

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be used in any classroom or that all classrooms will use the same inputs." (Prabhu, 1988, p. 11) The use of source materials requires the teacher to share classroom decisions with learners, an aspect of what Allwright (1981) calls learner-training.

Clarke (1989) advocates learner involvement in determining what happens in the classroom. He proposes five principles underlying learner contribution in an external syllabus: 1) learner commitment; 2) learners as materials writers and collaborators; 3) learners as problem solvers; 4) learners as knowers; and 5) learners as evaluators and assessors.

Based on the belief that learners are active participants in the learning process, not passive recipients, and that teachers are facilitators, not drill leaders or mere presenters of materials, cooperative learning was tested in a Foundation English class at the Chulalongkorn University Language Institute.

The Study

Subjects: Twenty-seven dentistry students who took the Foundation English Course in 1989 participated in this study. There were thirteen male students and fourteen female. In response to a questionnaire, eighteen students indicated positive attitudes towards learning English while nine students expressed a lack of interest.

Procedures: Since the Foundation English Course, which aims at providing communicative skills, is required for all first year students, the same course materials are used by all teachers. However, since learners differ in abilities, attitudes, needs, learning styles, and strategies, source materials were introduced to encourage learner contributions to the course. Clarke's five principles were implemented as follows:

1. *Learner Commitment* During the first hour the students were asked to indicate their preferences for cooperative projects by choosing from a list of possible projects given in a questionnaire prepared by the instructor. They were free to arrange their own groups, or to let the teacher arrange the groups. Each group negotiated with the teacher concerning the nature of the tasks to be completed and the date of presentation. An informal contract was drawn up to encourage the learners to take responsibility.

2. *Learners as Materials Writers and Collaborators* Once the project was approved, each group selected, adapted, or wrote the materials themselves outside of class. The materials had to correspond to the specified tasks. At this stage, the teacher acted as a consultant and facilitator. The learners could modify their projects but they had to inform the teacher. Although Thai was allowed in the preparation stage, students were encouraged to use English as much as possible.

3. *Learners as Problem Solvers* Each group was assigned the task of designing an activity in which their classmates could participate. This was very fruitful because each group was trained to present meaningful problems for their classmates to solve. They also learned how to work together and to share ideas. In addition, the task of designing the activities was in itself meaningful, creating situations which required the use of real and authentic language. During the presentations, the students of each team were responsible for classroom management. They divided their classmates into teams, and one member of the team read the directions while the others helped record scores and acted as facilitators. What follows are the activities they contributed.

Proverbs (4 Group members)

1. Divide students into four teams.
2. Give a list of 10 Thai proverbs in English to each student.
3. Tell the stories which correspond with the proverbs, one at a time.
4. Ask teams to guess the right proverb in English and translate it into Thai.
5. The first team which answers correctly gets one point.

Directions (3 Group members)

1. Divide students into five teams.

2. Ask students to listen to directions and find the right places on a map.

3. Read the directions twice.

4. The first team which answers correctly gets one point and the team that gets the most points is the winner.

Songs 1 (3 Group members)

"Eternal Flame" and " Greatest Love of All"

1. Listen to the songs and fill in the missing words.

2. Answer questions about the songs. (Extra credits are given for difficult questions.)

3. The team which receives the most points is the winner.

Songs 2 (3 Group members)

"Wonderful Life" and "Different Seasons"

1. Divide students into five teams.

2. Listen to each song twice.

3. Fill in the blanks. Three points are given for the correct answer for the first listening and two points are given for the correct answer for the second listening.

4. The team which receives the most points is the winner.

Comparisons (3 group members)

1. Write 15 names of rare animals on the board.

2. Read some information about the animals and let the other students guess the name of each animal. The student who guesses correctly gets one piece of candy.

3. Cite some special features (focusing on comparisons) and have the other students match the names of animals with the features described. Here, the student who gets the correct answer gets two pieces of candy.

4. The winner is the one who has the most candy.

Descriptions 3 Mini-activities (3 group members)

Mini-activity 1: Describe five students in the class and ask each team to match the names with the pictures.

Mini-Task 2: Give pictures of seven people to each student. Read the description of the thief twice and ask each team to find the thief.

Mini-Task 3: Guess the nickname of a student's boyfriend or girlfriend. Give clues by showing pictures. The first letter of the item in the picture is one of the letters in the student's name (e.g. a jar of coffee = the letter "c"). By recombining the letters, groups can guess the nickname of the student's boyfriend or girlfriend. The team which receives the most points is the winner.

Quizzes (4 Group members)

1. Divide the students into four groups.

2. Ask general trivia questions. If a team member knows the answer, he or she writes the answer on a piece of paper. A correct answer to easy questions is worth one point. If the question is difficult, it is worth two points.

3. Let the two teams with the most points compete in the final round. Here, the questions will be more difficult than in the first round.

Vocabulary Revision (4 Group members)

1. Select vocabulary from the previous lessons.

2. Play "anagrams" and ask the other students to write the correct words.

3. If nobody gets the correct answer, give the first letter. If nobody can get the right answer, give the meaning of that word.

4. *Learners as Knowers* By designing these classroom activities, learners acted as knowers. They were not "assimilators" or "spoon feeders", using Allwright's terms. The tasks reinforced what the students had learned in their previous lessons as well as encouraged positive attitudes towards language learning.

5. *Learners as Evaluators and Assessors* At the end of each group project, the students were asked to evaluate the performance of their peers on a 7 point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (disliked very much) to 7 (liked very

much). The means of all the projects are as follows: Proverbs (X = 4.68); Directions (X = 4.79); Songs 1 (X = 4.91); Songs 2 (X = 4.85); Comparisons (X = 4.87); Descriptions (X = 4.94); Quizzes (X = 4.87); and Vocabulary Revision (X = 4.80) The results show that most students were satisfied with the performances of their peers. The group mean (x) was the score the members of each group received and was counted as one part of their grade.

Evaluation

In addition to the quantitative data, the students were asked to comment on the group projects. Following are some of their opinions translated into English.

" I like group projects because they provide knowledge and a relaxing atmosphere. They also promote cooperation."

"I like group projects very much. I used to think that English was difficult but now I think I can cope with it."

"Group projects make learning English more entertaining. Group projects should be continued."

"I like group projects very much. They make me feel relaxed. I think group projects don't have to strictly follow the lessons. They should focus on listening and games. Very good and very entertaining.

"I like group projects a lot because I was relaxed. They make us practice language skills such as listening. They provide world knowledge, new vocabulary and make the class enjoyable."

The only negative comment was that in designing the tasks some groups should have paid more attention to content. That is to say the tasks should not be too trivial.

Conclusion

Cooperative learning seems to be a promising humanistic approach which encourages student participation in English classes. It helps promote positive attitudes towards English, and peer teaching, as well as teaching students to work together and developing their cognitive abilities. Moreover, it helps lower affective filters, which may hinder the process of language acquisition, by creating a relaxing and friendly atmosphere in the classroom. Cooperative learning helps develop a feeling of cohesiveness and caring that far exceeds what is already there and helps foster a climate of caring and sharing. (Moskowitz,1978) The extent to which this approach is examined and adopted depends on the caring, sharing, and daring of each language teacher.

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Curriculum Design and Pre-entry Training for Adult Indochinese Refugees

Mark Liegel

Since 1975, over two-thirds of the refugees who have emigrated to the United States legally have come from Southeast Asia (Hwyck and Bouvier, 1983). In fact, a current estimate of the exact number of Indochinese refugees who have emigrated since 1975 is close to a million. Today, the Indochinese who are coming to the United States may spend six months or more in refugee camps before resettlement. The two sites that have been processing the majority of Southeast Asian refugees and providing pre-entry training are located in Baatan, Philippines and Phanat Nikhom, Thailand. Under current immigration policies, the exact number of Indochinese allowed to enter the United States was 37,000 in 1987 and 32,000 in 1988 (U.S. State Department, 1987). Given this large number of refugees, a program to prepare them for the cultural and linguistic realities they will encounter in the United States is a virtual necessity.

For more than a decade, both refugee centers have been offering pre-entry training and education programs to the Indochinese. The Philippine Refugee Processing Center in Bataan is currently administered by the International Catholic Migration Commission. The site at Phanat Nikhom, Thailand, is operated by a consortium composed of the Experiment in International Living, Save the Children Federation, and World Education. The curriculum used in the centers has been developed and coordinated by the Center for Applied Linguistics under the U. S. State Department-funded Overseas Refugee Training Program (ORTP). This structured curriculum provides Competency-Based Adult Education (CBAE) instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL) to 17-55 year olds. This group is separated into six levels from A to E+: A's are illiterate in their native language; B's are literate in their native language, but not in English; and those in the C, D, E, and E+ levels are placed according to their proficiency in English. In addition to ESL, the ORTP provides up to 12 weeks of Cultural Orientation (CO) and Work Orientation (WO). Other programs that have evolved as a result of changing conditions over the years include secondary education, native language instruction, and special needs education for Amerasian families and people who have been recently released from reeducation camps. Many of the teachers are locally-hired college graduates who are proficient in English and supervised by American, Thai, and Philippine educators.

Indochinese Background

Addressing the language needs of incoming refugees requires an understanding of their unique cultural, socioeconomic, and educational backgrounds. The Indochinese refugees are composed of four ethnic groups: Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong, and Cambodian. The great cultural and regional diversity among these groups is reflected in their educational attainment, class background, occupation, religion, and family traditions (Lusk, 1984). Yet despite cultural differences, many come from agrarian communities which rely heavily on oral communication and tend to be ethnically homogeneous. Religion and sacred traditions are very important in their lives; therefore, assimilation into a technologically advanced society such as the United States is generally difficult.

The first wave of refugees to emigrate to the United States was comprised largely of educated Vietnamese professionals who were

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familiar with American culture and already spoke English well. Their rate of employment attainment was high (Strand and Jones, 1985). Since 1979, economic disaster, famine, and political termoil in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have caused a second wave of refugees to flee into surrounding countries. This group was composed mostly of illiterate Hmong from the hills of Laos, Vietnamese fishermen, and Khmer farmers of Cambodia. This second wave had fewer years of schooling, a lower literacy rate, less apparent motivation, and virtually no English skills or exposure to American culture. As a result, their acculturation in the United States has been comparatively more difficult than that of the first wave of refugees, and their employment attainment rate has been quite low (Strand and Jones, 1985; Tollefson, 1985). Clearly, a reassessment of instructional programs had to be made for the second wave of new arrivals.

Since the lack of English communication has been cited as the major barrier to successful employment (Penfield, 1986; Strand and Jones, 1985; Weinstein, 1984), one of the major goals of current resettlement programs is to assist refugees in becoming self-sufficient and employable. Yet many of the newcomers to the Bataan and Phanat Nikhom camps have never cooked on a stove, used a telephone, or looked for a job. Thus, the factors affecting their immediate situation and language development can be better understood by looking at certain social, cultural, and educational variables. The study of the impact of these variables on refugee second language acquisition will reveal learning problems among the Indochinese group and should play a major role in shaping curricula.

Affective Factors

Hymes (1974) coined the term *Ethnography of Speaking*, which emphasizes the relationship between speech and cultural behavior. In other words, cultural factors and linguistic development are in some ways interrelated. On another level, Schumann (1978) claims that certain social factors can either promote or inhibit contact between the second language learning group and the target language group, thereby affecting the degree to which learning can take place. In another article (1976), he points to five factors which positively influence successful second language learning. The ideal language learning environment is one in which (1) the group learning the second language is not dominant in its environment, (2) the group learning the second language intends to stay in the area of the target language for a lengthy period, (3) the group learning the second language is small and noncohesive, (4) the group learning the second language and the target language are congruent, and (5) both target and learning groups have positive attitudes toward each other and want to assimilate (Schumann, 1976). Second language learning potential is lower for learners to whom few of the five points apply. An assessment of how well Schumann's five-points fit the Indochinese group reveals that only the first and second points are particularly relevant.

Recent research has demonstrated that the problems associated with the process of assimilation and acculturation have had adverse effects on the language development of Indochinese refugees (Strand and Jones, 1985). Newly arrived refugees in the United States are expected to adopt a new life-style, but because of their lack of English language skills, many find the change threatening. Frustration is usually the result of the disruption in their lifestyles and social values. Kleinmann (1982, 1984) has noted that stress occurs in the process of acculturation, and as a result, language learning is affected. In addition, he says that some refugees tend to isolate themselves from the target language group, thereby lessening their exposure to English. Culture and language shock are two factors which affect many of those arriving in the camps and in resettlement areas in the United States. Research on older resettled refugees indicates that the collapse of traditional culture and family cohesion leads to depression and, in many cases, isolation (Gozdziak, 1988). Social relief services and pre-entry programs which consider all relevant factors may ease the stress by dealing with many of these problems.

Motivation plays a role in determining how much language a learner may acquire. Gardner and Lambert (1972) identified two motivational orientations in second language learning: integrative and instrumental motivation. An integratively motivated learner wants to learn a second language for general use in the community, whereas an instrumentally motivated learner wants to learn a second language for specific occupational or utilitarian purposes. Assessing adult Indochinese motivation is complicated by their particular living situations and language needs. Generally speaking, this group needs to develop basic communication skills in English for the specific purpose of gaining employment and becoming self-sufficient in a new environment. Motivation in learning may be further complicated by age, sex, and personality. Even though many have an instrumentally motivated interest in learning English, they have a need to learn the language for integrative reasons as well.

One very important factor affecting language learning for adult Indochinese is literacy. Major changes in curriculum and a call for overseas training programs reflect a better understanding of literacy and its impact on learning. Large differences in literacy exist between these ethnic groups. Achievement of literacy in English for Indochinese has been correlated with illiteracy in their native tongue (Penfield, 1986; Strand and Jones, 1985; Tollefson, 1985). Table 1 represents a cross sample of literacy in English and in the native language among the four different ethnic groups. Most interestingly, the results show that the ability of recent arrivals to read and write in English is one third less than that of earlier arrivals; also, the figures on literacy in the native language show that almost half of the Hmong and nearly a quarter of the Cambodians are illiterate in their native languages. This sample reveals that the needs of some groups are greater than those of others.

Prior education has also been identified as a variable that affects the rate of learning and the level of attainment in a second language (Penfield, 1986; Strand and Jones, 1985). Strand and Jones (1985) state that combined education and literacy in the native language are the best predictors of literacy in English. A comparison of the ethnic groups shows that the Hmong are the least educated and the Vietnamese the most highly educated. In addition, over fifty percent of the Laotians have had little or no formal education while the same percentage of Cambodians have had at least some high school education. Table 2 shows in more detail the differences in education among the ethnic groups. Because this is only a sample survey, it may not be a true representation of educational levels among these ethnic groups. Recent statistics have shown that the average length of education for arrivals in 1988 was 4.2 compared to 9.5 years for those arriving in 1975 (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 1989)

Kleinmann (1984), in reference to adult refugees, says that "second language learners with limited formal education in their first language simply do not have the experience or skills necessary to formalize language data into rules which they can use" (p. 13). Others support the notion that first language literacy skills result in greater competency in the use of the second language for adult refugee learners (Strand and Jones, 1985; Weinstein, 1984). Literacy is considered by some to be a way of processing information which affects certain types of interaction: Greater literacy skills lead to enhanced abilities to develop communication skills for SL interaction. Weinstein (1984) believes literacy can be a mode of communication which assumes meaning within specific social contexts. Despite varying views regarding literacy, it is clear that the curriculum in a pre-entry program should address the issue. Choosing an effective method of language learning as well as creatinga learning environment that works well for illiterate refugees will be important in formulating such a curriculum.

If language acquisition occurs as a result of exposure to comprehensible input (Krashen and Terrell, 1983), then it is important to be actively involved with the target language. E.S.L.

classrooms which provide informal environments for intake and involve learners in communicative interaction are thought to be crucial to language acquisition (Krashen, 1976). If Robson's (1981) findings are correct, her study of literacy and Hmong refugees shows that those who are literate in their native languages have more access to comprehensible input than those who are not. One question concerning comprehensible input is whether E.S.L. classrooms provide the right kind of input for illiterate learners. There are studies which suggest that traditional classrooms may be poor learning environments for illiterate refugees (Penfield, 1986). If this is the case, it is important to identify what factors might be blocking the input and to devise alternative activities in a setting conducive to learning.

Pre-entry Training

Providing pre-entry training for diverse groups of Indochinese refugees has been a complicated task for administrators and teachers, and an appropriate curriculum for E.S.L. adult literacy has not yet been formulated (Penfield, 1986). Materials used for both literate and illiterate Indochinese learners should reflect their diverse experiences while addressing the particular language skills needed for resettlement. Studies indicate that neither employment nor spending time in the United States leads to increased proficiency (Tollefson, 1985). The need, then, is for pre-entry training followed by ongoing E.S.L. classes once the refugees have been settled.

Employment rates have been directly linked with English language proficiency: The 1975 arrivals have an employment rate of 90%, whereas fewer than 35% of the 1980 arrivals are employed (Strand and Jones, 1985). More recent studies show that the employment rate for entry-level jobs has risen to 62% for Southeast Asian refugees 16 and older who have been in the United States up to 12 months (Refugee Reports, 1990). This is a clear indication that pre-entry training and current efforts at the camps have had a positive effect in raising English proficiency levels for new arrivals. But in spite of the increased optimism, special consideration during on-going training must be given to both immediate language needs of refugees in the camps and the problems of their long-term resettlement. Relevant language needs vary among refugees, but most need to become self-sufficient and employable, thus developing prevocational and work-oriented communication skills are of primary importance. Still others have completely different needs. An illiterate Hmong woman, for example, may have her son take care of the money and business matters, so her immediate need to learn English may be for domestic and health concerns, though she may at some point need to become financially self-sufficient. Such situations might require an innovative competency-based curriculum.

One such view of language teaching has been presented by Weinstein (1984) who integrated E.S.L. literacy acquisition into the context of Hmong daily life. Her goal was to create language activities which would help Hmong women become financially independent. She matched their specific skills, such as the production of handicrafts, with the language necessary to negotiate sales in English. She also taught them to read using their own food recipes and a variety of other meaningful activities based on Hmong life-styles. This type of experiential learning has proved successful in the Overseas Refugee Training Program at both Southeast Asian sites.

E.S.L. instruction at each site aims to develop students' abilities to use English at work and in the social settings they will encounter in the United States. The general approach has been to use a competency-based curriculum both in the classroom and in real-life settings—for example, at the doctor's office or in a work environment—in which the emphasis is on listening and speaking skills. Currently, the topics in the E.S.L. area are: literacy, money, personal information, shopping, social language, telephone, time, transportation, banking, clarification, community services, directions, employment (finding a job), employment (on the job), health, and housing (U.S. State Department, 1987). Within these categories, language tasks are constructed according to the level of the students. For example, while teaching about health, a mock clinic is set up in which students play the role of patients and the teacher that of a doctor. Such simulations are useful in teaching students how to request medical assistance, explain health problems, and follow instructions about treatment. The implications of this method of learning are very positive: The refugee learners will be better prepared for real encounters. The advantages of this method are reflected in many ESP and survival skills language programs—clearly defining needs without locking students into prescribed learning situations.

One critic, however, argues that the CBAE curriculum at the camps limits the amount of education refugees receive and does not encourage them to look beyond entry-level employment (Tollefson, 1990). In view of the pre-entry training program's objective to diversify for special needs, one can not overlook the realities that these refugees will confront after resettlement, and thus a structured CBAE model which can ultimately accommodate a variety of methodologies may be best as a core curriculum.

Research into appropriate teaching methodologies suggests that classes should include regular opportunities for natural interaction through tasks and communicative activities (Krahnke and Christison, 1983). Another consideration for refugee instruction has been suggested by Spada (1986) who feels that the best instruction depends on the amount of contact learners have with the target language. This could be an important factor in determining what E.S.L. instruction is appropriate for literate and illiterate students whose needs and abilities are quite different. Recently, the ORTP has applied the Whole Language and cooperative learning approaches to literacy instruction, and the results have been very encouraging. Some learners do well in a Natural Approach classroom where they are provided with ample input and where language slowly emerges (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). Others need more guided learning in smaller classes where there is greater opportunity for natural interaction.

In addition to the lack of literacy skills, many Southeast Asian refugees in the camps are confronted with social and psychological problems. As noted earlier, dealing with such problems increases opportunities for language development. Problem-Posing has been quite useful for teaching English to those confronting real-life problems. The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1973) first devised the method in the early 1960s to develop a native literacy program for the disenfranchised peasants and slum-dwellers in Brazil. Wallerstein (1983), noting the work of Freire and the Problem-Posing techniques, remarks:

> ... using socially and emotionally laden words of students' problems, Freire provoked students into discussions on how to improve their lives. With a phonetic recombination of syllables, students learned word literacy as they learned social literacy, the understanding of their worlds ...(p. 28).

Wallerstein brought the Freirian approach to the Bataan camp in 1982 hoping to use it as a supplement to the competency areas of the existing program. She says that the philosophy of the approach involves a three-step process: (1) listening to or learning about the students' daily concerns; (2) dialogue (bringing students' concerns into lessons for language learning or discussion); and (3) action (creating a resolution or talking about changes in the students' personal lives and communities) (Wallerstein, 1983).

It was apparent that the camp, with a population of over 9000 refugees, would have many individuals with difficulties in life. The emphasis has been on isolating those problems and getting people to talk about them. Certain codes were developed with which the problems could be recognized and discussed (Wallerstein, 1983). The code could take the form of a picture, photograph, story, puppet show, or song. Individuals and pairs explored problems in order to understand how to deal with them. Teachers can give Problem-Posing wider application by developing "codes" for problems such as employment, intransigent social service bureaucracies, lack of translators at clinics, and miscommunication between groups. In this way a link is created between the target language and the real world.

Another important phase of the Overseas Training Program has been Cultural Orientation (CO). The CO curriculum provides refugees with information about the United States and helps them develop problem-solving and decision-making skills for coping with life in a new culture. Most instruction is given in the refugees' native languages with the aid of bilingual assistants. Many of the CO topics overlap and support the E.S.L. categories. Current CO topics are: housing, resettlement, social roles, time management, the transit process, classroom orientation, communication, community and social services, consumerism and finance, employment, and health and sanitation (U.S. State Department, 1987). A typical CO lesson might contain a situation in which the teacher takes the role of a job interviewer and a student the role of an applicant. The interviewer asks job-related questions, and the applicant responds, giving modestly short answers and avoiding eye contact with the interviewer. Because reluctance to maintain eye contact (considered polite in most Asian countries) may be misinterpreted in the United States, this cultural difference is discussed. In the camp's E.S.L. classes students learn the English they need for job interviews; in the CO classes they learn the appropriate behavior necessary to cope with cultural differences. This relationship between the E.S.L. and CO curricula is an important one for pre-entry training.

Tollefson (1985) states that English proficiency is the most valuable skill for coping with the many different problems faced by refugees. He maintains that CO topics should be covered in E.S.L. classes in the United States. However, if stress or frustration associated with cultural differences impedes second language learning, then it would be in the best interest of the refugees to have cultural orientation before arriving in the United States. Newly resettled refugees without cultural orientation training might be more likely to withdraw from the target language group and be less motivated to learn English. It was recently noted that newly resettled refugees who maintain ties with their native language and culture tended to do better in school and the workplace; subsequently, they developed fewer mental health problems (Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989).

To further reinforce training for employment needs, the Work Orientation (WO) component of the Overseas Refugee Training Program (ORTP) attempts to develop refugees' abilities to communicate more effectively on the job and to understand employers' expectations better. It also focuses on strategies for moving beyond entry-level employment. The WO curriculum uses on-the-job training to accomplish these goals (U.S. State Department, 1987). The purpose of such efforts seems clear in light of current research done in the area of language skills and employment. Many employers identify insufficient fluency as the underlying cause when refugees have trouble getting along with other employees and reporting job related difficulties (Latkiewicz and Anderson, 1983). Since economic success depends in part on language proficiency, it is vital that a pre-entry training program develop the language skills needed for successful employment before resettlement.

Given the specific language needs for employment, a realistic work environment rich in relevant linguistic input could provide the best opportunities for learning. In 1985, a new approach to pre-employment training was introduced in the Phanat Nikhom site. Since that time, the D-E [upper-level proficiency] Work Orientation Pilot Program has been offering courses that emphasize the development of basic skills, work-site language, and cross-cultural awareness for refugees who had been successful professionals in their own countries and whose English was well beyond the basic level (Williams, 1986). Learners in this program literally take on the role of a worker. D-E work orientation instruction involves simulated on-the-job training in which students study four hours per day for 25 days (i.e. 100 class hours) after they have completed fifteen weeks of E.S.L. and CO (Williams, 1986). In a sense, WO acts as a laboratory in which learners can apply what they have previously learned.

One of the most unique qualities about on-the-job training lessons is that they can take place at a restaurant, woodworking shop, sewing factory, or electronics shop in the camp. A teacher can set up a learning situation by creating a problem-task in which cultural misunderstanding and problem-solving form the basis for learning. The implications of the D-E Pilot Program are that after 100 hours of practice, students are better able to function and succeed in the workplace.

Conclusion

In this paper, several factors affecting second language learning and considerations for refugee language training have been discussed. Curriculum development for overseas refugee training programs, as in the case of the Southeast Asian sites, is an ongoing and dynamic process. For a pre-entry training program to accomplish its goals, it is important that a program be adaptable to the needs of incoming refugees whose language development and ultimate success in relocation depend on understanding the factors which affect their situation. Such a program will give refugees a head-start in the resettlement process by providing the necessary language training. Ultimately, the program's success will depend on the ability of educators to facilitate learning by making innovative changes when needed.

TABLE 1

Level of Literacy (in Percent)

Able to read and write?	Overall	Ethnicity*				Arrival	
		V	L	H	C	Early	Recent
In English							
yes	44.0	52.6	42.8	31.0	24.5	68.4	31.6
no	56.0	47.4	57.2	69.0	75.5	31.6	68.4
In the native language							
yes	85.6	93.0	91.3	54.0	77.3	93.7	81.5
no	14.4	7.0	8.8	46.0	22.7	6.3	18.5

* V = Vietnamese, L = Lao, H = Hmong, C = Cambodian (Adapted from Strand and Jones, 1985, p. 103)

TABLE 2

Education by Ethnicity and Year of Arrival (in Percent)

Education	Ethnicity*				Arrival	
	V	L	H	C	Early	Recent
No formal/elementary	26.4	52.5	81.0	43.6	28.0	47.4
Some high school	33.6	31.3	18.0	52.7	34.0	33.8
High school or trade school graduate	12.1	11.9	1.0	2.7	11.6	8.3
Beyond high school	27.8	4.4	0.0	0.9	26.5	10.6

* V = Vietnamese (N=428), L = Lao (N=160), H = Hmong (N=100), C = Cambodian (N=llO); other totals: early arrivals = 268 and recent arrivals = 530.
(Adapted from Strand and Jones, 1985, p. 108)

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BRIGHT IDEAS

Input and Output: Interaction in the language laboratory

Brenda Hayashi

Students and teachers generally agree that the fewer students per class, the better the conditions are for learning a language. In a language class that focuses on oral/aural skills, class size becomes an important variable in a teacher's ability to teach effectively. However, teachers with access to language lab facilities can solve the problem of large classes by dividing them into two groups: one group meets with the teacher for half of the class period while the other group works in the language lab. At halftime, the two groups switch places. Thus, the language lab can be a compromise solution for teachers who are faced with large classes.

When used properly, language lab activities emphasize exposure to and use of the target language. Typical assignments include pronunciation practice, open dialogue exercises, and listening comprehension checks. Although teachers have a wealth of material from which to choose, most language lab activities are still comprehension-based. Yet, as language teachers, we need not limit our view of the language lab to one which emphasizes receptive skills. A language lab in which communicative interaction is emphasized can contribute to language acquisition.

Second language acquisition research seems to indicate that comprehensible input alone is not sufficient for acquisition to take place—comprehensible output is also an important and independent variable (Larsen–Freeman, 1985). Accordingly, interaction, whether it is between learner/learner, learner/teacher, or learner/text, is necessary for second or foreign language acquisition to take place (Day, 1986; Rivers, 1987).

Used judiciously, the language lab can be a place where students can focus on both input and output without being subject to embarrassment. Students can sharpen their skills in accuracy, fluency, appropriateness, and creativity, depending on the objectives of the activity.

A language lab where students can work on both input and output should have a variety of student groupings.

Here are four basic ways students can be grouped:

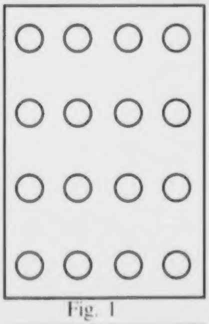
Fig. 1

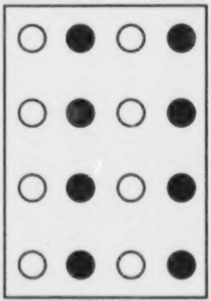
Fig. 2

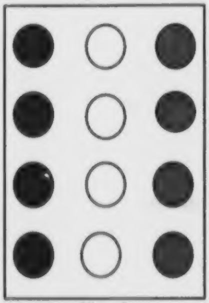
Fig. 3

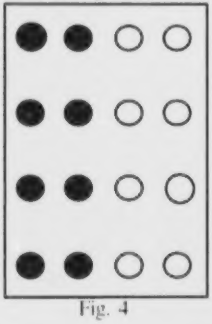
Fig. 4

Brenda Hayashi has a Masters in TESL from UCLA. She teaches at Miyagi Gakuin Women's College in Sendai, Japan. This paper was presented at the 30th International LLA Conference, Kobe, August 1990.

The rectangle is the language lab and the circles represent students. In Figure 1, the students are working individually with the text, listening, for example, to a cloze passage. In Figure 2, students are interacting with each other in pairs. For example, an open circle student gives instructions to a closed circle student. In Figure 3, students are working in small groups. Here, all students work with their respective groups on a particular task. Later they will separate and work in another small group with two other new students. The second grouping will have an open circle student, closed circle student and a dotted circle student pooling their resources. In Figure 4, the open circle students are working as one group and the closed circle students as another. The two groups later break up and form pairs of open and closed circle students.

Grouping and assignment type will vary with the lesson objective. The focus could be on accuracy (either in listening or in speaking), fluency, appropriateness, or creativity. This is not to imply, however, that these areas are necessarily independent of each other.

What follows is a brief description of some activities which can be used in the language lab for practice with input and/or output. The number(s) at the end of each activity refers to the student groupings in Figures 1 - 4. In some instances, the instructions for an activity could imply that the teacher is in the language lab at the same time as the students. However, it should be restated here that a language lab enables teachers to divide large classes and work with one half while the other half is working in the lab. A teacher can prepare a tape for an assistant to play to the students. For example, when instructions call for the teacher to describe his or her parents to the students, the teacher records the description, gives the cassette tape to the assistant to play to the students, and works with the other half of the class in a regular classroom.

FOCUS ON ACCURACY: LISTENING

The teacher describes something to the students. The description can be prerecorded so that the teacher is free to work with the other half of the class. The students must draw a picture that corresponds to the description given. (1)

Students listen to a cassette with a tapescript and mark one strong stress in each phrase (see Asano, Uruno, and Rost, 1985, for an example). Students then reconstruct the listening passage either in writing or by recording their own voices on another tape, using only a list of the stressed words as a guide. If the reconstruction is done orally, students can exchange tapes after the oral work has been done. Each student then listens to the tape of a fellow student and marks on another copy of the original tapescript one strong stress per phrase. Students compare the stress marks in their own speech with that of the original tape. (1)

Students listen to a tape which has questions ending with a rising or falling intonation and decide what the function of the question is; e.g., is the speaker asking a question or expecting confirmation? See Gore (1979) for examples. (1)

Students listen to a tape or watch a video for the answers to specific questions. They are given the questions before listening/viewing. The assignment can be either task-based (e.g., listening for prices) or global comprehension checks. (1)

Students have a worksheet on which certain words and phrases from a song are written. As they listen, they check off the words and phrases they hear. (1)

Students are first told they must solve a problem. They are then divided into three groups and told to work together in their respective groups. Each group listens to a cassette tape for specific information. The tapes have different information which, when pieced together, will help solve the original problem the students were given.

After the students have discussed their findings, they form new groups composed of one student from each of the earlier groups. Each student is responsible for reporting the information he or she gathered. After all information has been shared, the group tries to solve the problem which had been given to them at the beginning of the session. This type of activity is usually called jigsaw listening. (3)

FOCUS ON ACCURACY: SPEAKING

Students describe something or someone and record it on a tape. Students then exchange tapes and draw a sketch according to the description on the tape. After this, the tapes are returned to the original owners along with the drawings. Students examine the drawings and determine how accurate or clear their descriptions were; they then have the option of recording the tape once more with a better, more elaborate description. (1 + 2 + 1)

Students are given a map of a city on which two points, X and Y, are marked and must record directions from point to point. Students exchange tapes, listen to the directions, and mark route and destination. Clearly, the two points are different on each map. The tapes and maps are then returned to their owners, and any mistakes in the route or destination can be used for correction exercises. Students can also be encouraged to select their own starting points and destinations instead of depending on those chosen by the teacher. In this case, the exact location of the starting point must be clearly described by the students. (1 + 2)

The teacher dictates sentences or a story, line by line. The students repeat after the teacher, recording only their own voices, not that of the teacher. Students then use the playback as the basis for a written dictation. (1)

For a variation on the above activity, students exchange tapes. For pronunciation classes, students can transcribe the tapes using phonetic symbols. After the tapes and transcriptions are returned, the students compare their pronunciation with that of a model transcription provided by the teacher. (1 + 2 + 1)

FOCUS ON FLUENCY

Students describe on tape what they did over the weekend. They then exchange tapes, listen to what another person did, and record questions about that student's weekend activities at the end of the tape. After the tapes are returned to their owners, students listen to the questions and clarify or elaborate on their weekend activities by redoing the original tapes. (1 + 2 + 1)

Divide the class into two groups. Students make up general knowledge questions (e.g., Who wrote *Hamlet*? What is the smallest country in the world?). Each student records a set of questions from the list generated by the group and exchanges tapes with a person in the other group. The student then listens to the tape and records the answers to the questions onto the tape. The tapes are returned, and students listen to the answers to their questions. They can keep score if they want and give points for linguistic accuracy and/or the correct answer. Another option is to have students work in pairs or small groups rather than dividing the class into two. (4 + 1)

The teacher makes up a list of questions about student interests (e.g., sports, personality, the opposite sex, jobs, dreams) and has students copy the questions on their tapes. Students play the tapes back and answer at their own speed. If students wish, they can monitor and correct the responses later. (1)

The teacher tells a story. The students listen without recording and then record themselves as they retell the story without a script. The students then play back and listen to their own versions of the story. (1)

Students are told to work in pairs. One student faces the TV monitor so that he or she can see the screen. The other student faces that student and has his or her back to the screen. A videotape is run without sound. The student who can see the screen must describe the video to the other student. The description of the action on the screen can be taped, and used later for error correction. (1 and 2 simultaneously)

FOCUS ON APPROPRIATENESS

Students listen to an open drill cue (see "Oral Exercises" in *Building Strategies* by Abbs &

Freebairn, 1984, for examples of open drills). Students record a response, then play back and listen to their own responses. Correction is made if necessary. Students exchange tapes and compare their partner's responses with their own. (1 + 2)

The teacher makes a list of accusations (e.g., You didn't turn in your homework assignment on time! You forgot to write your name on your term paper! See Ely (1984) for more ideas.). Students copy this on to their own tapes with a time interval between each accusation. They then listen to each accusation and make up an excuse during the time interval. When finished, students exchange tapes with each other, then listen and check to see if the excuses given by their classmates are appropriate or not. (1 + 2)

Students listen to one side of a telephone conversation and record it. They then record appropriate responses in the blank parts of the open telephone conversation and exchange tapes with each other. Students listen to the responses made by their peers, judge whether or not the responses are appropriate, and give feedback to their classmates when the tapes are returned. (1 + 2)

FOCUS ON CREATIVITY

Students listen to a tape which has only sounds (e.g., *Sounds Interesting* or *Sounds Intriguing* by Maley and Duff, 1983). The students imagine a story to go along with the sounds on the tape. They record their stories and then exchange tapes with their classmates. Students then listen to the stories recorded by their classmates and compare them with their own. If the students and teacher so desire, work on linguistic accuracy can be done with the story script at a later date. (1 + 2)

The teacher and students work together to create a story. The teacher starts to tell a story but then stops and tells the students to continue the story. After an appropriate amount of time has been given to the students (usually 1 - 2 minutes is sufficient), the teacher interrupts by saying "May I continue with the story?" and continues with the story. The teacher stops once again and lets the students tell part of the story. This cycle continues until the story is done. (See "The Unicorn" in *Once Upon a Time* by Morgan and Rinvolucri (1983) for more detailed instructions.) Once the story has been completed, students can play the tape back and listen to their speech. The story can be used for dictation purposes, error correction (both at the sentence level and at the discourse level), or in any way that a teacher wants to use it. (1)

Students are told that they will have to make a list of questions about the video scene they will watch (e.g. What was the color of the hero's jacket? How many times did the murder suspect snap his fingers?). The students watch the video with the soundtrack turned off. They work in one of two large groups and compile their questions. The students are then asked to work with someone in the other half of the class, asking each other the questions. Points may be given for correct answers and/or linguistic accuracy. The video may be shown again so that everyone can see what the right answer is. (1 + 4 + 2)

CONCLUSION

The above activities are only a few suggestions as to how the language lab can be used to focus on accuracy, fluency, appropriateness, and creativity in language learning. Undoubtedly there are other activities which can be used in the language laboratory. Those of us who use labs are already familiar with dictation exercises, cloze passages, mimicry drills, global listening comprehension questions, and task-based worksheet activities, which usually focus on input while limiting the type and amount of output. It is not the intent of this article to imply that these particular techniques be abandoned. What is suggested is that activities such as the ones described above be added to a teacher's bag of tricks. We must create a language lab situation where the learners have more opportunities to interact with both input and output.

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Picture Vocabulary

Adam Young

ESL students often have difficulty transferring a new vocabulary word from the context in which it was learned to a different context. They may understand the meaning and function of a word in one context but be unable to use the word correctly in a new context. Moreover, a teacher may believe the students are fully able to use a word only to find out later that they have completely misinterpreted it.

In this article I will briefly explain a simple way to give students the opportunity to use newly-learned vocabulary in a context of their own choosing. I will explain why this technique is challenging and fun for the students, useful for the teacher as an evaluative tool, and flexible enough to be used in a variety of ways.

The Technique

Picture Vocabulary, as its name implies, revolves around a set of pictures. My set is a group of about fifty photographs taken from a year's worth of *National Geographic* which I have mounted on colored construction paper and covered with clear plastic. I rely on *National Geographic* because the photographs are ethnically and culturally diverse as well as colorful and easy to understand. The pictures range from a group of men and women sitting in a Texas bar to a pair of men sweeping the stones in a Japanese garden. Most of the pictures have people interacting with other people in everyday scenes.

The exact content of the pictures is not as important as the fact that there should be a diversity of people and places. However, it is important that the pictures have no writing on them, as many advertisements do, since the words tend to force students in a direction they may not otherwise have chosen and to limit the potential use of the target vocabulary.

I have been using the technique with different groups of adult students, the majority being intermediate-level Japanese professionals who are studying in an intensive one-month residential business communication program. There is a large sheet of white paper hung on the wall in each classroom for new vocabulary words. When a new word comes up that the

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students want to remember, one of them writes the word on the paper. By week's end there are anywhere from five to twenty-five new words on the vocabulary list.

I use the Picture Vocabulary technique each Friday to review and reinforce the new words of the week. I have to explain the activity very carefully the first week, but less explanation is required as the students become accustomed to the activity. First, I focus their attention on the vocabulary list and ask the students if there are any other words they would like to add to the list. If there are no additions, I divide the students into pairs or small groups, depending on the size of the class (I have found that groups of three work best). I then explain the task: Each group chooses one picture from the picture file. They have ten minutes to write a story, description, or conversation about the picture using as many new vocabulary words as possible. They may use the words in any way they choose, as long as the ones they choose are connected to the picture in some way. I hand out markers, a large sheet of white paper, and a selection of pictures (between five or ten) to each group. I stress that to save time they should write directly on the paper and not in a notebook first. While they are working, I circulate to keep them on task and to ensure they are following the directions, but I avoid giving any help unless asked. I periodically inform them of the time remaining.

When the ten minutes are up, I ask the students to finish the sentence they are writing and post their papers and pictures around the room. I then tell them to walk around and read what their classmates have written. After everyone has finished, I seat them in a circle around the front board where I have posted one of the papers. I ask one student from the group (more if it is a dialogue) to read the sentences aloud. Since the stories are often humorous, this usually makes everyone laugh and maintains a relaxed atmosphere in the room. I then thank the group and ask the class to examine each sentence for any errors in grammar or spelling. Usually, they are quick to find simple grammatical mistakes, and I write these in as the students call them out. If they have missed an error, I underline the word or area in the sentence that needs correction and wait for a response. If they are still unable to find the error, I write it in for them. The purpose of this form of error correction is twofold: First, it gradually focuses student awareness on errors; second, it improves students' confidence in their ability to correct themselves. I repeat this error correction process until we have finished each composition. The total time required for writing and correcting depends on the number of groups, but it usually takes between forty minutes and an hour to finish three or four groups.

What follows is an example of an actual, uncorrected story. The new words are underlined.

> Here is "Seven Eleven" which is located diagonally to "Lawson". In this store, two ladies are buying Pampers. One of them is a janitor who works for a rich family. This family likes speculating in stock market. Sometimes stock prices soaring bewilders them. But usually they lose money. Stock prices are the biggest obsession to this family.

Analysis

As I have explained above, the main purpose of Picture Vocabulary is to provide an opportunity for the students to practice using new words in different contexts. The technique has a number of benefits. First, and perhaps most important, it is creative and fun for the students. They are free to choose any direction they wish with the new words and to explore new areas of the language. They are bound only by the limits of their collective imaginations. I have been repeatedly surprised by their ability to use a seemingly unrelated set of words to describe a picture. As you can see in the example above, this group of students managed to use five new words to describe a simple picture of two women shopping in a store.

A second benefit of the technique is that the teacher can evaluate student understanding of new vocabulary words by correcting the compositions. During the error correction phase, the teacher can see where students are having difficulties in using a new word. Often the students are unaware of how a word changes the meaning of a sentence or how the word must be changed to fit a particular structure. By looking at the ways students are misusing a word, the teacher can decide if more practice is necessary.

A third benefit of this technique is flexibility. It can be used with a wide variety of levels and adapted to meet additional goals. I have successfully used this technique with students ranging from low-intermediate to advanced, and each time the students enjoyed the challenge of using the new words. Changing the basic plan to meet additional goals requires little additional planning. For example, comparison language can be reviewed by asking the students to make a comparison within the picture or by giving them two different pictures to compare. Modals of prediction can be practiced by asking the students to make a prediction about what will happen next in the picture. Paul Jaquith and Amy Absher, two of my colleagues at LIOJ, have made the following adaptations to the basic technique.

Paul Jaquith

My use of the technique is somewhat more restrictive than Adam's. I choose the picture for each group, rather than letting them choose the one they want from a dozen or so. This saves some time and cuts down the wear and tear on my picture file. I am also then able to choose pictures I think may be conducive to using certain grammatical structures we have studied recently.

I use only pictures of people engaged in some kind of interaction, that is to say, those in which people look as if they weretalking about something. I do this because I ask the students write out the conversation they imagine is taking place rather than a story or a description of the picture.

This gives the students a chance to try the new words out in a controlled conversation. My error correction, then, focuses on the correct usage of the new words, the appropriateness of the utterances to the context, and the general communicativeness of the conversation. I try to encourage peer correction as much as possible, but at the same time, I don't hesitate to jump in to keep the class moving. This is a fun activity, and I try to keep it that way.

If you try this activity, be prepared for an exciting class, full of many surprises. In a recent class, I gave one group a picture of a family looking at a group of penguins on the rocky Antarctic coast. The conversation they wrote (and later performed to the absolute delight of the class) was not between the members of the family, as I had expected, but between three curious Emperor penguins staring for the first time at some very foreign creatures. So much for affective filters.

Amy Absher

I've adapted the technique to fit into a shorter time frame because my students meet for only 90 minutes a week. To save time, I make it a spoken task rather than a written one. One representative from each group simply takes notes in his or her notebook about the story or dialogue so they can remember it to tell to the other groups. After the ten minutes are up (I use a timer to let them know that I am serious about the ten minute limit), I get them back together as a class and ask for a group to volunteer to start. I encourage each student in the group to tell some of the story, and the other groups follow suit. I encourage peer correction and generally limit my corrections to those errors that relate to the focus vocabulary words.

Conclusion

Picture Vocabulary can be fun and instructive for both students and teachers. It does not require a lot of time or specially prepared materials. All that is needed is a sharp pair of scissors and a pile of magazines. I hope that other teachers will find new ways to use and adapt this technique to suit their needs.

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Forum:

Issues in Southeast Asian Refugee Education

Since 1975, more than 1,000,000 people from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have left their homes to escape violence, starvation, and economic hardship. Traveling independently, by boat or foot, or through the Orderly Departure Program, a 1979 agreement between the Vietnamese government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to reunite families, many of these refugees found their way to camps in Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Once established in these camps, the refugees began the long process of finding a new home. Many countries, especially the United States, Canada, and Australia, have been generous in providing resettlement opportunities.

Integral to resettlement is reeducation. For a refugee to lead a satisfactory and productive life in a new country, he or she must obtain a basic understanding of the language and culture of the resettlement country. For contemporary Southeast Asian refugees, this requirement most frequently translates into the need to understand the English language and the culture of the United States. Various international organizations have set up educational programs in the refugee camps in Southeast Asia to answer this need. Some of these programs are now more than a decade old; together, they have educated hundreds of thousands of refugees and comprise what may be the largest and most comprehensive reeducational effort ever undertaken.

The difficulties in this reeducational project are enormous, as the refugees represent an immense range of ethnic, linguistic, and educational backgrounds. At one end of the spectrum were those early Vietnamese refugees who had had some relationship with the U.S. military in Vietnam. These refugees could already speak English and already understood many aspects of American culture. On the other end of the spectrum are hilltribe farmers from Laos who have had very little contact with either the English language or Western culture. Many of these hilltribe refugees are illiterate even in their native languages and require an extremely basic, and fundamentally different, education. With the U.S. Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987, Amerasians, the sons and daughters of American fathers and Vietnamese mothers, were granted refugee status and resettlement rights. These refugees, having suffered as second-class citizens in Vietnam and been deprived of national educational opportunities, pose new challenges to refugee educators.

In order to explore the vital language and cultural education of Southeast Asian refugees, *Cross Currents* asked selected refugee educators to explain the history, students, and educational methodology of their programs. The 12 essays which follow provide an introduction to these, and other, issues in refugee education.

The first section of the forum was contributed by educators from the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) in Bataan, the Philippines. **William T. Burns** (page 65), an assistant director of the International Catholic Migration Commission's (ICMC's) Instructional Program, begins the discussion, providing an overview of ICMC's student population and educational methodology. **Donald Ronk**, a social worker with ICMC's Preparation for American Secondary Schools Program, discusses the Amerasian refugee population at the PRPC (page 67). **Francisca Pao Moredo**, Program Officer for ICMC's English as a Second Language (ESL)-AB Program, and **Wu Zhaoyi**, a resource specialist in ICMC's Cultural Orientation Program, consider literacy needs for mothers of Amerasian refugees and make instructional methods and materials recommendations for use with these learners (page 69). **Chas J. Algaier** (page 71), a teacher trainer with ICMC, relates a classroom-proven method for teaching literacy to high-oral/low-literate refugees. **Cathy Wesolek**, a health teacher for World Relief Corporation at the PRPC, describes the incorporation of primary prevention techniques in young women's discussion groups (page 73). **Susan E. Togle** (page 76), an instructional supervisor with ICMC, discusses the opportunities her program provides for refugee students to act as classroom teachers. **Sharon C. Snyder**, Program Officer for Instruction in ICMC's ESL-AB Program, explains that program's production of reading materials which reflect the refugees' backgrounds and interests (page 77). Finally, **Charles R. Davy**, the Cultural Orientation Curriculum Coordinator for ICMC at the PRPC, outlines a cultural training course which helps refugees prepare for the challenges of resettlement in the United States (page 79).

The forum's next section contains two essays from educators at the Phanat Nikhom Refugee Camp in Chonburi Province, Thailand. **Michiko Oishi**, former Public Relations Officer for the Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC), describes the work her program is doing with Cambodian refugees in Thailand and with Cambodians in Phnom Penh (page 82). Oishi also explains the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees in Japan and the continuing educational efforts that JVC undertakes with these families. **Karen L. Libucha**, a teacher trainer with the Consortium at Phanat Nikhom, outlines the changes in that program over its ten-year history. Libucha (page 85) gives special attention to the program's competency-based adult education curriculum.

Adrie P. van Gelderen, Refugee Coordinator for the International Social Service (ISS), Hong Kong Branch, continues the forum discussion with a brief history of Vietnamese refugee immigration to Hong Kong. Van Gelderen (page 89) then explains the ISS's programs, which include educational offerings for both refugees seeking resettlement opportunities and for economic migrants who will eventually be repatriated to Vietnam.

James W. Tollefson, a professor of English at the University of Washington in Seattle, concludes the forum, outlining the long-term educational needs of resettled refugees in the United States. Tollefson (page 91) suggests an integrated educational model which would provide programs for both refugees and for U.S. society in general.

&

Cross Currents would like to thank all the dedicated professional educators who contributed their time and expertise to this forum. We wish them well in their vital work in the future.

THOMAS CLAYTON, FORUM EDITOR

The Changing Faces of Refugee Education

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The 1980s brought dramatic changes to refugee education programs both in resettlement countries and in the processing centers where refugees await resettlement. These developments reflect changes in refugee population, in teaching methodology, and in general awareness among educators of the sociopolitical implications of promoting language change. To provide an example of the interplay of these factors, this article describes various modifications in the instructional thrust of the adult language and cultural orientation program administered by the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC). This article also aims to provide a general context for the following articles detailing specific services available at the PRPC.

A Diverse Population

The initiation of intensive training programs more than ten years ago was a response to the changing needs of the refugee population as reported by resettlement workers in the United States. While the first wave of refugees in 1975 was generally familiar with American culture and language, those refugees who followed displayed significant adjustment problems upon resettlement. The typical first wave refugee was a Vietnamese technician or professional who was closely associated with U.S. government agencies or the American military. Those who followed were from varying ethnic, educational, and vocational backgrounds; many, for example, were hilltribe farmers whose contact with American culture had been extremely limited.

In answer to pleas from U.S.-based sponsoring agencies which found the newer arrivals ill-prepared for the trials of resettlement, the Bureau for Refugee Programs of the U.S. Department of State established several programs in Southeast Asia through which refugees could receive formal training while the final processing of their paperwork was under way. The PRPC, which began receiving students in 1980, is the site of one such program.

From a relatively small-scale adult program, the PRPC-based services have grown to include specialized secondary school preparation (also administered by ICMC), a program for elementary school children administered by World Relief Corporation, and a number of other services provided by various voluntary agencies. As many as 17,000 migrants can be simultaneously accommodated at the Center. Adults bound for the United States receive a six-month intensive orientation course in English language and cultural adaptation skills, including specialized orientation to the language and culture of the American workplace. While the establishment and development of the Center has not been without controversy, the professionalism and dedication of the staff have been widely recognized.

The years since the opening of the overseas training centers have brought an increasing awareness of the diversity within the Southeast Asian refugee population. Special-needs groups have been identified more precisely, and entirely new waves of refugees have been accepted. Among the groups most recently perceived as needing special attention are detainees released from reeducation camps, mothers of Amerasian children, and youths whose background has not prepared them for the responsibilities they will be expected to shoulder upon resettlement. A major change in refugee population followed the U.S. Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987 which granted refugee benefits (including the intensive ori-

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entation program) to all families which include eligible Amerasian children.

Methodology in Transition

Recognition of the diversity in the refugee population is a by-product of significant shifts in perspective among language educators during the past decade. Veteran teachers at the PRPC brag that they have run the gamut from the last gasp of the behaviorist methods, through the heyday of communicative language teaching, to the present emphasis on developing refugees' strategies to cope with problems and to enhance quality of life. As teachers have directed their attention away from the technicalities of classroom performance and toward students as whole persons, they have discovered rich sources for linguistic development. But they have also discovered how radically different are the concerns of the young adult embarking upon a new career in the maelstrom of American youth culture from the concerns of the single parent needing to determine which day-care services are most appropriate or the grandmother confused by the rapid Americanization of the younger generation.

Though the large scale of the ICMC program has allowed for increasingly homogeneous class groupings, the teachers' awareness of the diversity of student needs has far outpaced logistic possibilities, and the demand for further individualized training is constant. At the moment, self-access facilities (libraries, learning centers, etc.) at the PRPC are being significantly enhanced.

In the initial stages, the preparatory programs were developed in tandem with survival programs offered to immigrants in the United States. The curriculum model for many such programs was derived from pioneering work in notional/functional syllabus design and from successful vocational training programs of the 1970s which identified and provided instruction in discrete measurable tasks required for a particular job. This competency-based model worked best for relatively simple occupations which demanded little creativity. When it was applied to language learning, however, it needed major modification; successful communication is poorly represented by a listing of tasks.

Competency-based survival language programs struggled with the same difficulties that all English for Specific Purposes programs face in defining needs without enslaving the student to those needs. In the course of the decade, educators in the Southeast Asian programs have refined the competency-based model to encourage creative, integrated language use in keeping with individual and group needs and interests. Further innovations have incorporated recent developments in literacy instruction in the United States, and the PRPC is now receiving international recognition for leadership in implementing the Whole Language philosophy in an ESL setting.

Sociopolitical Focus

ESL professionals also became concerned about sociopolitical issues, particularly issues of learners' rights, during the 1980s. PRPC curriculum revisions over the past several years have been primarily driven by these sociopolitical concerns.

Refugees constitute a unique student population in that the word "refugee" implies a political criterion that other labels (Hispanic, Limited English Proficient) do not. Not only are refugees defined politically, but the resettlement services they receive are funded in large part by various political entities. Educators and politicians have always been uneasy bedfellows, and the competition for funds, exacerbated by budget deficits and the electorate's growing lack of sympathy for refugees, has at times led to unfortunate grappling among the service providers. Buffeted on all sides by politics, refugees are liable to manipulation and exploitation for political or economic ends.

Educators at the PRPC became increasingly aware of these factors as they reconsidered content-based approaches and began to stress higher-level thinking skills. Instead of merely challenging students' unrealistic expectations, teachers concentrated on setting expectations of success and equipping students to achieve success for themselves. Rather than discouraging older students with the warning that their children would not be in constant attendance to translate for them, teachers found strategies to prove that older students could succeed in learning English. Rather than merely introducing the realities of sexual harassment and racial discrimination, teachers began posing problems and encouraging decisive action based on an awareness of the supports which American society provides. The Neighborhood Libraries in the Center initiated family literacy outreach programs to build realistic expectations of the benefits resettlement communities offer.

Conclusion

Recognition of the political dynamic has bred excitement among educators at the PRPC, rejuvenating the program as it enters its second decade. This sociopolitical concern, along with advances in teaching methodology, encourages a diverse population of refugees to find the keys to their own resettlement and to become the masters of their own lives.

Vietnam's Amerasian Families: The Face of Jeopardy in Resettlement

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By 1988, the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) in Bataan had acquired eight years of experience teaching English and cultural orientation to some 300,000 refugees, well over half of them Vietnamese. There seemed little to discover about Vietnamese refugees' learning skills—until Vietnamese Amerasian families began arriving in large numbers in the middle of the year.

Amerasian families are far different from refugees from first-asylum holding camps in Asia. ICMC observation and data show that, as a group, Amerasian families (80 percent of today's PRPC population), and particularly the Amerasians themselves, have:

1. a much higher illiteracy rate than first-asylum peers, requiring formal instruction from closer to a beginning level;
2. seldom more than beginning English skills, with few skills to build upon and little opportunity to communicate informally with teachers;
3. fewer years of schooling than first-asylum peers, with few formal learning skills and less general knowledge to build upon;
4. less experience with school than first-asylum peers, frequently challenging institutional requirements;
5. far less apparent motivation to accept the system and learn than first-asylum peers, demonstrating different learning needs and requiring special attention.

Understanding Amerasian Refugees

In 1989, Dr. J. Felsman, a child psychologist at Dartmouth Medical School's Department of Psychiatry, and co-researchers began releasing data and analyses from a study comparing the resettlement prospects of Vietnamese Amerasians with the prospects of their Vietnamese peers (Felsman, Johnson, Leong, & Felsman, 1989).

Along with psychological tests, Felsman and his colleagues statistically analyzed demographic data on Amerasians that strongly suggested the need for a closer study of Amerasian

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needs by educators, resettlement workers, and mental health professionals. The data suggested that the educational backgrounds of Amerasians put Amerasians in particular jeopardy of problematic resettlement. Afro-Amerasians, the Felsman study suggested, are in the greatest jeopardy.

Adding to the Evidence

Taking direction from the Felsman study, this writer undertook two studies of Amerasians, one comparing Amerasians to their Vietnamese peers (see Table 1, below), the second comparing the mothers of Amerasians to their peers (see Table 2, top of page 69).

The Amerasian Study, Table 1

Amerasians, as a group, have two fewer years of schooling than their Vietnamese half-siblings or first-asylum peers with no Amerasian affiliation. Amerasians 16.5 years old or older, on the average, have 5.5 years of schooling while their peers have 7.7 years.

The illiteracy rate of Amerasians (as measured by the English Placement Test, an instrument developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.) is ten percent. The illiteracy rate for their first-asylum peers is one percent; that for Amerasians' Vietnamese half-siblings is zero.

Data on Afro-Amerasians presents a grimmer picture. Afro-Amerasians in this study, as a group, have 3.3 years of schooling, two years fewer than other Amerasians, and have an illiteracy rate of 17 percent, seven percent higher than Amerasians in general.

The Mothers of Amerasians Study, Table 2

The mothers of Amerasians in this study have an illiteracy rate of 10 percent, much higher than the three percent rate among mothers with no Amerasian children. Mothers of Amerasians have approximately three fewer years of schooling (4.6 years versus 7.3 years) than their peers without Amerasian children.

Mothers of Afro-Amerasians have fewer years of schooling (3.9 versus 4.6 years) and a far higher illiteracy rate (42 percent versus 10 percent) than women with unspecified Amerasian children.

Conclusion

These studies make concrete the troubling observations of the ICMC staff and both reinforce and extend the scope of the findings of Felsman, Johnson, Felsman, and Leong (1989). Given the deficiency in education of Amerasian families entering the United States, it seems probable that they are in jeopardy of problematic resettlement.

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TABLE 1
Education of Amerasians and Peers: Subjects Between 16.5 and 30 Years of Age

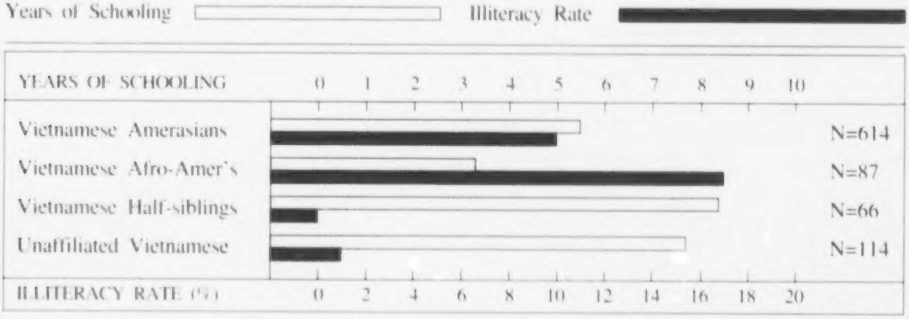
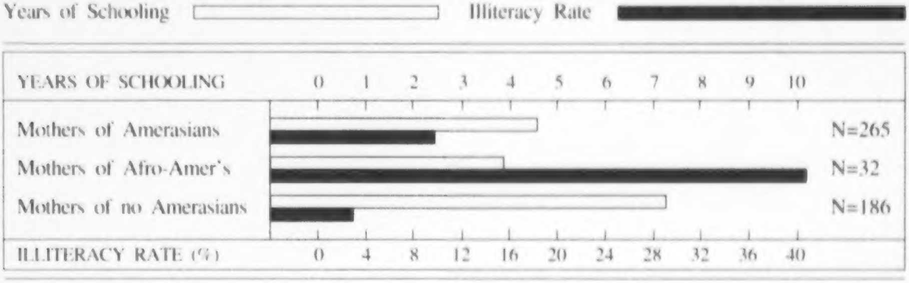


TABLE 2

Education of Mothers of Amerasians and Peers: Subjects Between 35 and 55 Years of Age



Literacy for Mothers of Amerasians

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Mothers of Amerasians are a special group of students at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC). These refugees demonstrate varying degrees of oral proficiency in English which they acquired in Vietnam through their frequent contacts with Americans when they worked as vendors, domestic help, or waitresses in U.S. military base areas. However, with a few exceptions, mothers of Amerasians have less schooling than Vietnamese mothers with no Amerasian children (see "Vietnam's Amerasian Families: The Face of Jeopardy in Resettlement," page 67). The majority demonstrate very limited reading and writing skills in both Vietnamese and English.

In formal classroom situations, mothers of Amerasians can generally understand what the teacher says in English and can converse readily on everyday topics or express confusion or understanding. However, reading and writing activities pose a new experience and challenge. Some mothers of Amerasians hold their pens with trembling hands and write their names with great difficulty. Others complain about headaches, poor eyesight, and other ailments. At times, they avoid participation in classroom activities. Worry, anxiety, and frustration are constantly present in their classroom performance.

This paper will discuss literacy for this group of learners and will make recommendations about instructional materials and methods to enhance learner self-esteem.

Literacy in Context

At the PRPC, literacy is introduced along a continuum which includes the learner's past experiences, current life at the PRPC, and expected social and cultural situations in resettlement countries.

It is a common practice in English language classes at the PRPC, for instance, for teachers to compile stories about learners' lives in Vietnam: farming, selling commodities, and doing household chores. In relating these stories, learners use a fairly large oral English vocabulary which they acquired in their previ-

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ous occupations. The refugees must also use English to meet their contemporary literacy needs: to recognize visual signs and to read notices about mail, medical examinations, and parent-teacher conferences. To prepare mothers of Amerasians for future literacy needs, teachers have successfully used visuals of air flight schedules, road signs, supermarket signs, and apartment listings.

A general discussion with teachers and students at the PRPC determined the future literacy needs outlined in Table 1, below. These needs serve as the basis for curriculum design and the selection of materials and activities.

Affective Factors

Affective factors are psychological barriers or aids that influence second language acquisition. Lack of formal schooling often makes mothers of Amerasians feel that they cannot learn to read and write in English. It is important, therefore, for the teacher to provide a nonthreatening, supportive learning environment and to encourage learner progress. A warm and sympathetic attitude and an acknowledgement of achievement often increase learner confidence.

Once, an Amerasian's mother showed a letter she wrote to one of our teachers. In the letter, she explained that her son was slow in his studies because her family had been very poor in Vietnam and her children had not attended school. The teacher used this opportunity to both correct the learner's language and to praise her for the progress she had made and the care she showed for her son's studies.

To help mothers of Amerasians overcome anxiety, English language teachers at the PRPC are using a variety of strategies like peer tutoring and family literacy. For example, reading and writing in the classroom consist of both individual and group work. When an individual has a problem, she can ask other people for help. Students are encouraged to work in pairs or groups in filling in forms, writing stories, etc. Teachers have also developed group reading for students to share and help each other.

At the PRPC, family members often attend different programs for children, young adults, and adults. Some PRPC teachers, however, are experimenting with family literacy programs. When self-directed strategies such as the family journal and the family-based bulletin board are introduced, parent-child interaction can help promote language development in a realistic, supportive atmosphere.

Conclusion

Literacy for mothers of Amerasians involves two major principles of instruction and learning: Content should be based on learners' experience and literacy needs, and instructional methods and learning strategies should help to enhance learners' self-esteem.

TABLE 1
Future Literacy Needs of Mothers of Amerasian Refugees

NEED	CONTEXT	EXAMPLE
Survival	Going through customs	Filling in forms
	Shopping	Recognizing names of products
	Renting housing	Signing contracts
Employment	Applying for jobs	Filling in forms; Signing contracts
	Understanding rules, regulations	Reading comprehension
	Asking for leave	Filling in forms
Education	Attending literacy classes	Reading and writing
	Further studies, training	Reading and writing; Written tests
Interaction	Expressing appreciation, thanks	Writing notes
	Correspondence	Writing letters

A Method for Teaching Literacy to the Orally Proficient

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> *The first time I come here, I'm sorry, because I have a husband. I can talk, but I no can write. I can talk, but I no can write. I very happy for go to school. I hope that soon I go to America I can speak English very well. I have very good job in America. O.K., bye-bye.*
>
> NGUYEN THI XI
> NOVEMBER 10, 1990

Every group of students that enters the International Catholic Migration Commission's (ICMC's) higher-level adult English language program contains some students with special needs in literacy. These students are predominantly female and have learned to speak English either through association with Americans or through independent study. High-oral/low-literate Vietnamese women primarily come from backgrounds that included associations with Americans in Vietnam; they worked in service industries and usually had American husbands or boyfriends. High-oral/low-literate Lao or Khmer have learned to speak English in the border camps where they often spent years. In all cases, they lack formal education, and their native language literacy skills are limited.

Nguyen Thi Xi, the author of the above story, is a typical high-oral/low-literate Vietnamese. She is 44 years old, has basic native-language literacy skills, attended primary school in Vietnam for only three years, and was married to an American for three years during the war. Two male children were the result of that relationship.

These high-oral/low-literate students bring certain advantages with them to an English language program. They speak English well, often demonstrating the best oral abilities in their classes. They are adept at communicating messages and at talking around vocabulary problems to get at meaning. They can think in English and are quick to respond to oral input. They are comfortable with English and are willing to participate in extended oral interchanges. They are also aware of their limitations in literacy and tend to be highly motivated to improve their reading and writing skills (see Resnick & Robinson, 1975, for a discussion of motivation and literacy).

That motivation, coupled with their superior oral abilities, makes these ICMC students an ideal group to whom to teach basic English literacy skills. The purpose of this article is to discuss one technique used successfully by some ICMC teachers to teach basic English literacy skills to these students.

Principles of the Language Experience Approach

The method some ICMC teachers have chosen to use with their high-oral/low-literate adult students is based on the Language Experience Approach (LEA) (see Kennedy & Roeder, 1975; Stauffer, 1980; Tierney, Readence, & Dishner, 1980; Dixon & Nessel, 1983, for discussion). The LEA is an inductive approach that has been used effectively to teach basic literacy or to improve literate students' reading skills in many countries and settings. Volunteers using the LEA in U.S. prisons have proven the approach to be especially effective in teaching literacy to nonliterate, poorly educated native speakers of English (Ryan & Furlong, 1975).

The Language Experience Approach is based on a few fundamental principles of literacy learning. One principle is that students should progress from the oral to the written word. Gibson (1975) notes:

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> [R]eading is a symbol system that normally decodes to speech. It follows that [the learner] must have a reasonable competence in hearing and speaking before he or she can make smooth progress in learning to read. (p. 290)

Another principle is that the text used should be created from the students' own background experiences. A third principle is that the meaning in the message should be immediately perceived by the students.

The Method

The Language Experience Approach, as used at ICMC, is light on materials, requiring only notebooks and pens/pencils for the students and manila paper and marking pens for the teachers. Teachers begin by selecting the students in their classes in need of either beginning or remedial literacy skills. These students are then organized into groups of four to six; these groups attend literacy sessions while their high-literate classmates work on independent study skills in the language lab.

To begin a literacy session, a teacher first posts a blank sheet of manila paper and then invites or selects a student to tell a story. (The role of storyteller will rotate among all the group members over time.) As the storyteller talks, the teacher records the speaker's language verbatim. Grammar is recorded as spoken, but oral pauses or incorrect pronunciations are not.

When the story is finished, the speaker and the remaining students discuss the story. Students are encouraged to ask the speaker questions to improve their understanding of the story. This discussion is not recorded. While the discussion is going on, the teacher should rewrite the original narrative, this time with the grammar corrected. For example, the story dictated by Nguyen Thi Xi, which introduced this article, was secondarily transcribed as follows:

> This is the first time I've come here. I'm sorry, because I had a husband. I can talk, but I can't write. I can talk, but I can't write. I'm very happy to go to school. I hope that when I go to America I can speak English very well. I will have a good job in America. OK, bye-bye.

The original narrative should remain posted in front of the students at all times. So as not to intrude, the teacher should write the corrected narrative from behind the discussing students.

When the students have finished discussing, the teacher should post the corrected narrative next to the original. The storyteller then reads the corrected narrative orally. (Though the teacher may want to help the student keep her place in the reading, the teacher should not do this by pointing at every word. If necessary, the teacher can point at the side of the line the student is reading.) If the reader stumbles over a word or phrase, she should be allowed to finish the sentence before correction is given. After the correction, the student should go back to the beginning of the sentence and read it correctly.

When the original speaker has finished reading the corrected narrative, another student is called upon to read it. This process is repeated until every student has had a chance to read. In this manner, every student will have heard all of her classmates model the reading by the end of the class. After all students have read the corrected narrative, they write it down in their notebooks. Finally, if time remains, the teacher may help the students develop more specific skills by focusing on syntactic cues, semantic groupings, or phonetic problems.

Conclusion

This method nicely suits the level and abilities of our high-oral/low-literate students. Because they have good oral skills, these students can produce extended discourse. Because they generally come from similar backgrounds, their experiences are familiar. While any individual's background will be similar to the others in a group, the individual stories themselves get attention and hold interest.

In addition, the students' own group and self-perceptions are factors in their growth.

They recognize that they are low-literate students studying with a large group of high-literate students. They are thus motivated to improve their skills and approach the higher literacy levels of their classroom peers. The literacy sessions therefore allow the low-literate students the opportunity for individualized focused attention on reading and writing, skill areas in which they recognize weaknesses and want urgently to improve.

Finally, the literacy sessions give students the chance to create stories that they can read. By allowing students to record and keep the stories they read, the literacy sessions provide each student with a personalized history of the past that can be read and reread. These stories become a foundation on which to build future reading and writing skills.

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Incorporating Primary Prevention Techniques in Discussion Groups

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The Amerasian/Young Adult Program (AA/YA) at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) was created in 1989 to deal with the increasing number of young adults, especially Amerasians, being processed through the camp. Camp directors anticipated that many of these young adults would lack educational and social skills and so might present problems during their stay in the camp. The AA/YA Program was designed to "support young adults by allowing them to develop self-esteem, confidence and a positive self-identity and acquire social skills" (Young Adult Services Program, 1989).

One component of the AA/YA Program focuses specifically on the needs of women. This program reaches young women in camp through the formation of women's discussion groups which integrate instructional and social

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goals. The discussion groups have two basic objectives: to present information about health, hygiene, human sexuality, and American culture; and to develop the participants' self-esteem and decision-making skills.

Objective One: Information

Each discussion group consists of eight to 12 young women, a discussion leader/teacher, and a translator. A specific topic is discussed each night unless a group member has a problem she wishes to discuss. Some of the topics discussed during the course are: relationships with men, menstruation, making friends, family planning, AIDS, and self-esteem. Group members are encouraged to ask questions and share concerns they may have about the topic under discussion. Less sensitive topics—making new friends, for example—are discussed first to allow members to become comfortable. More sensitive topics, such as AIDS, are discussed subsequently. Group members also participate in some cooperative activities which help to develop a supportive environment.

Objective Two: Self-Esteem Development

The second objective of the women's discussion groups—developing self-esteem and decision-making skills—directly incorporates primary prevention techniques. According to Cohon (1986), primary prevention seeks "to increase individuals' abilities to cope and to enhance feelings of self-worth" (p. viii). These techniques are often used with groups considered in danger of developing mental illnesses. Primary prevention techniques are used to predict situations which may be stressful to a given population and then to suggest strategies that can be used to cope with these situations (Cohon, 1986).

The women's discussion groups incorporate various primary prevention techniques which relate to teacher roles, classroom environment, and materials and curriculum development. Cohon (1986) provides many suggestions for incorporating these techniques in the English language classroom.

Teachers' roles

A teacher always plays many roles inside the classroom, but certain roles specifically relate to primary prevention. The teacher should be a good listener and should be interested in student comments. I try to do as little talking as possible and try to maintain eye contact with the student who is speaking, even though she may be speaking Vietnamese.

A teacher should also play the role of a mediator between cultures to help students understand the meaning behind certain actions. Many students, for instance, find childless American couples sad. Explaining that many couples wait until they are financially able to care for a child or until they have spent time together may help students understand the basics of American family planning.

The teacher should also direct students to resources that may be useful in the future and help students to develop skills to find such resources. In discussion groups, we talk about where members can go for health care in the United States and who they can talk to if they face sexual harassment. If the AA/YA Program has information about specific women's programs in the United States, this information is provided to participants before they depart from the PRPC.

Facilitation also plays an important role in the classroom. Teachers should encourage students to share their experiences and contribute to problem-solving activities. In classes on family planning, I ask members what family-planning methods they are familiar with before we begin to discuss other methods. Many students have shared stories about their mothers' or neighbors' experiences with strict family-planning measures in Vietnam.

Another important role a teacher can play is that of a cultural model, allowing students a chance to observe the target culture firsthand. This is very important at the PRPC where the number of Americans is steadily decreasing. I try to wear the same type of clothing I would wear in America, and I also invite the women's groups to my house so that they can observe an American home.

The importance of environment

The classroom environment can also play a role in primary prevention. The classroom should have a low anxiety level and should create a sense of belonging. The discussion group format is ideal for achieving these goals. There are no grades, no demands for correct answers, and students are encouraged, but not forced, to share ideas. Students are also able to speak in their native language, and, because there are only women in the group, they are at ease asking questions about sensitive issues.

The classroom should also be a place where student concerns and cultural traditions are treated with respect and openness. For instance, many students at the PRPC use the traditional method of "coining" (repeated rubbing of the skin with a coin) to cure ailments. Instead of telling students that coining does not work, a teacher can explain alternative treatments or explain how many Americans may react when they see the distinctive marks made by coining.

The classroom environment should also provide opportunities for increased supportiveness among members. In discussions about menstruation, for example, many women have been surprised to learn that they are not alone in occasionally skipping menstrual periods.

Finally, acknowledgement of students' previous experiences should be important in the classroom. Each topic discussed in the women's group begins with students' experiences. This type of environment allows the members to feel that their experiences are important and that the teacher is not the sole repository of information.

Materials and curriculum design

The third area in which primary prevention techniques can be employed in the classroom is in materials and curriculum design. Materials should be developed to help change attitudes of low self-opinion. For example, many young women feel that the all-American blue-eyed blond is the only ideal of beauty and are surprised to learn that a dark-haired Amerasian was chosen as Revlon's Most Unforgettable Woman of 1989 and that an African-American was chosen as Miss USA.

Materials should also focus on cultural differences—a goal of virtually every meeting. From dating customs to the use of umbrellas in the sun, cultural differences between America and Vietnam are examined.

Critical thinking skills, too, should be promoted by the curriculum in order to help students learn to make decisions. Discussions in the women's group often center around pros and cons of a given situation—for instance, deciding whether or not to become sexually active before marriage. Students collectively list possible rewards and consequences of a given decision. Right or wrong is not normally a consideration; the process of making appropriate, personal decisions is emphasized. These types of activities reinforce the idea that individuals are ultimately responsible for their own decisions.

Conclusion

Many young women who have attended discussion group sessions report decreased fear of going to America. They feel more confident in making decisions and know from discussions that other women have similar fears and worries. They say that they will have fewer surprises in America than women who have not attended the discussions.

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Student Teaching in Refugee ESL Classes

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At the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC), the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) prepares Indochinese refugees for successful resettlement in the United States. ICMC's English as a Second Language (ESL)-AB Program works with Vietnamese and Amerasian adults, between 17 and 55 years of age, who have very low oral and reading/writing scores on our English placement test.

Student Teaching General Discussion

The teachers in the ESL-AB program continuously examine their beliefs, reflect on their practices, and evaluate the results of approaches, methods, and strategies. Teachers also examine their own roles and the roles of their students in different perspectives. This reassessment of roles and classroom practices has led to activities which involve learners actively in learning. Specifically, it has led to the strategy of using students as teachers. We call this strategy *student teaching*.

Student teaching is one small step in the process of empowerment, the movement from educational dependence to self-directedness, as refugees struggle to acquire survival skills necessary for their successful resettlement. Further, it helps equip adult refugee students with coping skills necessary for participation in continuing education. Finally, we hope that it will help the refugees become responsible and productive members of U.S. society.

Student Teaching at ICMC

Student teaching in ESL classes is a new strategy at ICMC. The following process describes the inaugural experiment with student teaching.

1. Each class selected the student teacher and the topic.
2. Student teachers and respective ESL teachers met to plan the lesson and prepare the appropriate materials.
3. Student teachers practiced teaching with their friends and teachers.
4. Student teachers taught in their respective ESL classes for one hour of the four-hour session.
5. Student teachers and their respective ESL teachers reflected on and evaluated the lesson.

Some of the topics chosen in this first experiment with student teaching were housing problems, the post office, and an ESL-AB-produced book about an Amerasian youth.

The following is a comment made by one of the first student teachers:

> When I was chosen to be the teacher, I felt worried so much because I am afraid not enough skill to teach. I also felt proud. I prepared my lesson carefully. I wrote, prepared the topics I will teach, thought, and practiced teaching at home. When I was teaching in first few minutes, I felt so nervous, but after that I didn't lose my temper, I felt self-confident. I think that my classmates learned from me....They understand many things from my lesson....I like to be teacher very much. I shall become a teacher in America if I have a chance.

Conclusion

Student teaching proved to be a rewarding language experience in ICMC's ESL classes. It led to the active and direct involvement of students in the language learning process and, if the quote above is any indication, to the beginning of a lifelong commitment to continuing education.

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Books for Beginning Readers and Writers: If You Can't Find Them, Make Them

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> *Long ago in Central Vietnam there was a happy family—a husband, a wife, and a baby boy. One day the husband was called to fight in a war far away from home. His wife was very sad and missed him very much.*
>
> *Every afternoon she took her baby in her arms and climbed to the top of a nearby mountain to look for her husband. She stood there waiting, in the wind, rain, and storm, until at last she became a stone. And today, if you go to Central Vietnam, you can see a mountain beside the sea. On top of the mountain is a stone that looks like a woman holding a baby, still waiting for her husband, who will never come home.*
>
> From *Hon Vong Phu*

The story above is from one of 54 illustrated books developed over the past four years for use with adult beginning readers and writers in the English as a Second Language (ESL) program at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC). At the PRPC, we face the challenge of finding appropriate beginning-level reading materials for adult students. Few commercially published books are appropriate for beginning readers from linguistic minority groups. These learners need the kind of support that is normally found only in children's books. But, as adults, they need texts which are relevant to them in terms of content and aesthetics as well.

In this article, I will discuss the rationale underlying the use of whole texts for beginning reading and writing instruction, the essential characteristics of instructionally effective beginning-level books, and our experience at the PRPC in developing books for Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong beginning readers.

Why Begin with Books?

Why have we put so much effort into creating books for *beginning* ESL readers? Why not teach them "the basics" first through various flash cards and exercises on worksheets, and, when they're ready (much later), let them read the books that are available?

Our efforts have been based on the findings of current reading and writing research, which indicate that students learn to use language, in both its spoken and written forms, when language is related to things they know about, care about, and are interested in (Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1985; Graves, 1983; Siegel, 1983). Can the students engage themselves in making meaning from a particular text? Will they want to? Books, especially familiar story books, which are attractive and of interest to students, draw them into engaging in the reading process.

An important instructional advantage in presenting language through books is that books provide students with experiences of language used coherently and naturally, with all of the language systems present. The graphophonemic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic language systems are all in play in books, supporting one another in the creation of meaning. Each of these systems facilitates students' learning of the other systems and is not fully understandable in isolation from the others.

By providing beginning ESL readers and writers with examples of simple but real language in use, and by basing that language on high-interest or known stories, teachers can draw learners into *wanting* to understand how written language works.

What Kinds of Books are Appropriate?

The concept of predictability is important in identifying appropriate beginning ESL reading books. The reading process is a continuous

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cycle in which readers predict meanings, confirm or disconfirm them, and integrate confirmed meanings into their knowledge bases and belief systems (Goodman & Burke, 1980). The key factors underlying this process are the reader's background knowledge, beliefs, and interests, and, in relation to these, the content and form of the text. It is the combination of these factors that determines the degree to which a text is predictable for particular readers and the degree to which they will *want* to engage in the reading process.

One of the most effective ways to make text predictable is to support it with illustrations. However, in order for illustrations to be supportive, they need to be literal and consistent reflections of the key thoughts in the text. Carefully made illustrations help students make predictions, but illustrations which are not consistent with the text can just as easily interfere with literacy learning.

The predictability of a text can also be enhanced by designing the text itself to contain predictable linguistic elements: words or structures can be repeated; lines can be rhymed; a strong plot will help the reader to predict meaning.

Narrative itself is a highly predictable genre and, as such, is a particularly useful instructional tool. Readers anticipate the consequences of each step of a story. Even surprising events are seen to be such *because* the reader has a sense of what should predictably have happened. When the inherently predictable nature of narrative is combined with the predictive power of students' background knowledge and interests, as well as supportive linguistic and nonlinguistic cues, a valuable resource for beginning ESL readers and writers is created.

Creating Predictable Books

As the need for developing predictable books became more widely recognized in our program, a number of our staff became actively involved in seeking out stories known to students or of interest to them. The Book Committee was established to prioritize, edit, and field-test the stories submitted to it and, in coordination with ICMC's Instructional Media Services, to oversee the illustration and production of the books. The Committee's decisions are guided by the following criteria.

1. The books must be of high interest to our students.
2. They must be based on students' background knowledge, beliefs, experiences, or curiosity about future experiences.
3. They must have supporting illustrations which clearly show the meanings in the story.
4. They must show language used in context and in a natural way.

Stories submitted to the Committee come from a variety of sources. Since story writing is one of the instructional strategies used in our classrooms, many student-written stories are created every week. Ten of the 54 books we developed are student authored. An example is *Uncle Cuoi and the Banyan Tree*, which explains the origin of the shadows on the moon. This and four other books were also illustrated by students.

Other stories are adapted by staff from published materials or well-known folktales told to them by students. *Hon Vong Phu*, the story which prefaced this article, is one such example. Some student-written stories narrate personal experiences, as in *My Life After 1975*, written by the mother of an Amerasian.

A number of stories have been written by staff about refugee situations in the United States. *Too Much Freedom*, for example, is a true story based on a report in *The Los Angeles Times Magazine* (Arax, 1987) about a young Vietnamese man on death row. Other stories developed by staff are fictitious, but are based on feedback we receive from refugees and resettlement workers. One such story, *Making Friends in America*, deals with social discrimination experienced by an Afro-Amerasian at work; another, *Gai*, deals with a young Caucasian-Amerasian girl's feelings about her ambiguous identity.

A few of the books were designed to teach particular curricular content through humor, as in *The Great Bank Robbery*'s demonstration of banking services in the context of a bank holdup, or as in *Little Lost Bobby*'s whirlwind tour through the sections of a department store. Other stories focus on teaching particular language points, as in *The Rooster*, which demonstrates the use of prepositions in the context of a Lao proverb.

We included a supporting illustration with each page of text. The illustrations have proven to serve the further purpose of heightening students' interest in the books by making them visually appealing.

Conclusion

In the creation of books for beginning ESL readers and writers, the guiding question must always be, "Will the learners be able to, and want to, connect with this text?" The reader's background and interests should be matched with the text's content; linguistic and nonlinguistic cues should provide additional support. Such books help to develop mature readers who are adept at drawing from multiple cuing systems to confirm or disconfirm their attempts to make meaning from text.

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Cross-Cultural Training for Young Adult Vietnamese Refugees

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Roughly 8,000 of the Vietnamese refugees that pass through the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) each year fall between the ages of 17 and 23. These refugees, in transition from adolescence to adulthood, present a unique cross-cultural training challenge to the staff of the International Catholic Migration Commission's (ICMC's) Cultural Orientation (CO) component.

In this paper, I will outline some pertinent issues, related to the refugees' past experiences and future resettlement needs, that have been considered in the CO course design. I will then describe ICMC's Cultural Orientation component: goals, curricular units, and instructional methods.

Young Adult Refugees

Background

The backgrounds and experiences of the young adult refugees at the PRPC are varied. A large proportion are the Amerasian sons and daughters of U.S. servicemen, others are the children of two Vietnamese parents, some are the half brothers and sisters of Amerasians. Some grew up in stable, loving families; others are able to recount the hardships of single-parent families, the miseries of abuse, and experiences of life on the streets. Many have

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relatively limited educational experience. Those who have work experience have generally been manual laborers—street vendors, waitresses—not unusual employment the world over for people of their age.

There are many similarities between this 17 to 23-year-old age group and their American peers. They do not behave as their elders expect or demand, yet they are under considerable pressure to do so. Similarly, they are encouraged by peers to conform to their own brands of youth culture, yet are in search of personal identities. These sociocultural conflicts are compounded for many by the fact that they are Amerasians and, having experienced varying degrees of discrimination in their own land, are between cultures. Young adult refugees often express a desire to discard their own culture and become, simply, American.

As might be expected from the above synopsis, young adult refugees arriving at the PRPC commonly exhibit depression, low self-esteem, and reluctance to venture out and take control of their lives.

In the United States

Most young adult Vietnamese refugees see the United States in the traditional way—as a land of tremendous hope and opportunity. However, few are able to temper this belief with an informed reality. While resettlement agencies have developed fairly sophisticated operations for meeting basic needs, young adult refugees face daunting resettlement challenges: difficulty in school, exposure to drugs and gang violence, unwanted pregnancy, and other problems typically faced by underprivileged American youth.

A Cross-Cultural Training Course

To help refugees prepare to face the challenges of resettlement in the United States, ICMC provides Cultural Orientation, a 100-hour course spread out over 12 weeks. Each student studies CO for two days each week. All CO instruction is conducted in the students' native language with the aid of refugee translators.

Program goals

In training young adults from the backgrounds referred to above and with such vaguely defined hopes for the future, the CO component sets out to achieve three broad outcomes: 1) to enhance the young adults' emotional and character development; 2) to increase the students' knowledge of pertinent information about the United States and the realities of resettlement; and 3) to improve the students' cross-cultural adaptation skills. These outcomes are divided into nine specific goals that are repeatedly addressed during CO instruction. These goals are to help refugees increase:

1. *self-awareness/self-esteem*, by showing an understanding of what is important to them, what they are good at, how others see them, what their aspirations are, and what causes them stress;
2. *cultural awareness*, by showing an understanding of how the values of a culture influence customs and behavior, and by showing tolerance for differences between their own and other cultures;
3. *proactivity*, by showing initiative and determination, and by doing things which involve a risk of embarrassment or failure.
4. *knowledge of resettlement realities*, by expressing realistic expectations of their own resettlement;
5. *problem-solving skill*, by explaining and applying the problem-solving process (determining the problem, identifying possible solutions, predicting their consequences, and then making a decision);
6. *goal-setting and planning skills*, by determining goals and planning the steps to achieve them;
7. *information-processing skills*, by gathering information through observing, questioning, and listening, analyzing and making sense of the information, and applying what they have learned in other situations;
8. *social interaction skills*, by effectively interacting with individuals and groups, and by using strategies, such as interpreting nonverbal clues and discovering common

interests, to communicate more effectively;
9. *practical skills*, by using math skills (making a budget), indexes (using a phone directory), and libraries.

All people possess these qualities, skills, and knowledge in varying degrees. They are all interrelated and important components in a successful adjustment to the new culture. For example, the greater one's cultural awareness and tolerance, the more willingly one interacts with people of another culture and the more receptive one is to new ideas and behaviors. This, in turn, leads to a greater ability to process information and to learn from experiences, increasing the ability to solve problems successfully.

The curriculum

The CO curriculum plays an essential role in providing a meaningful context in which the nine goals listed above may be addressed and practiced. The curriculum is divided into five developmental units that are relevant to the refugees' resettlement in the United States. These are Self, Your Family, Your Friends, School and Work, and The Community and You.

In the Self Unit, students examine their own culture and, through this, become more aware of what culture is and become more tolerant of cultural differences. Students cover issues related to the physical self such as fitness, hygiene, and grooming. They also consider the importance of these physical issues for maintaining good health, managing stress, and interacting with others. In the last part of the Self Unit, students consider the kinds of persons they are, their likes and dislikes, and the events and people that have influenced them. With this greater awareness, students are better able to identify their aspirations for the future and to see themselves fitting into U.S. society.

In the Your Family Unit, students first look at their families at the PRPC, whether they be traditional or nontraditional families: how families support each other, the quality of family interrelationships, and how the family may be changing. Then the focus switches to the students' future in the United States. Students consider family-related problems they may face and develop strategies for resolving these potential problems.

The third unit is Your Friends. Here the young adult refugees explore qualities of friendship, discuss how to make friends in a new culture, and consider current American youth life-styles and trends. Some of the negative aspects of youth culture, such as drug abuse, gang crime, and unwanted pregnancy, are also examined at this time.

The School and Work Unit helps students to assess their experience, skills, and interests and to plan for potential school and work opportunities in the United States.

In the final unit, The Community and You, students apply and practice the goals to perform such tasks as selecting appropriate housing, accessing community services, and dealing with issues related to living in a multiethnic environment.

Instructional methods

The methods used for instruction in the Cultural Orientation component are nonthreatening and experiential in nature. Role plays, simulations, field trips, and other such activities are commonly used. When possible, training activities draw upon the immediate environment. For example, in learning about their own culture, students interview older members of their communities; in examining family problems, students anonymously write Dear Abby-type letters to other classes about real experiences; in addressing ways to make friends, classes hold evening parties that are videoed and later processed in relation to the curriculum goals.

Conclusion

Through the Cultural Orientation component, young adult refugees learn cross-cultural adaptation skills, explore their emotional and character development, gain relevant knowledge about the United States, and are thus able to face the future with greater confidence.

Educational Programs for Cambodian Refugees

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Since April, 1975, more than 1,000,000 people have fled to Thailand from the three Indochinese countries of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. There are three possibilities for these refugees: voluntary repatriation, integration in to the country of first asylum, and resettlement in a third country. Since Thailand does not accept integration of refugees, and since a political settlement has not yet been reached, resettlement in a third country is the only current option. About 630,000 refugees have resettled in third countries so far, but there are about 378,000 refugees still remaining in refugee camps in Thailand (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1988).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is cooperating with the Royal Thai Government, the Royal Thai Army, and volunteer agencies from all over the world in giving assistance to these remaining refugees. Currently, refugees are quartered in six UNHCR-assisted camps and in seven UNBRO (United Nations Border Relief Operation)-assisted camps.

Japan International Volunteer Center's Activities in Thailand

History of activities

In the late 1970s, the Japanese media covered the exodus of thousands of Cambodian refugees fleeing the genocide of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. Many Japanese nationals took it upon themselves to come to Thailand to offer assistance to these refugees. These well-intentioned volunteers, most of whom had no experience in aid or relief work and were unable to speak Thai, Khmer (Cambodian), or English, soon discovered that the assistance they were able to offer was of limited value. In 1980, the Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) was established by Japanese volunteers living in Thailand to coordinate activities and to ensure effective management and distribution of assistance to Cambodian refugees.

Since that time, JVC has been involved in many programs designed to offer assistance to Cambodian refugees. Transportation, medical, sanitation, construction, supplementary feeding, well drilling, Japanese language teaching, recreation, weaving, and auto repairing projects have been undertaken. More than 1,000 volunteers have participated in these projects. Currently, JVC administers two educational programs: skill training at Khao-I-Dang, and Japanese language training at Phanat Nikhom.

Khao-I-Dang Technical School

Khao-I-Dang is the only UNHCR-assisted refugee camp strictly for Cambodian refugees; JVC has been working there for nine years. Khao-I-Dang is situated near Aranyaprathet in Prachinburi district, about 290 kilometers east of Bangkok on the Thai-Cambodian border. The camp is administered by the Royal Thai Army Supreme Command. The camp population is currently 14,704 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1988).

On 3 September, 1981, JVC's Khao-I-Dang Technical School was opened. The refugees in this camp will eventually be repatriated to Cambodia; the curriculum of the Technical School, therefore, focuses on training applicable to existing conditions in Cambodia. Current program offerings include courses in the maintenance and repair of motorcycles and one-cylinder engines, welding, electricity, and automobile servicing. Auto repair textbooks written in Khmer and English are printed at Khao-I-Dang. Both theoretical and practical training is provided during the courses. In

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addition to these program offerings, JVC has added courses in bamboo basket making, fish net making, agricultural tool making, and automobile driving skills.

Currently, two Japanese administrators, two Thai technical supervisors, and 50 Cambodian teachers serve a population of 150 students at the Khao-I-Dang Technical School.

Phanat Nikhom Japanese Language School

The Phanat Nikhom Refugee Camp in Chonburi Province, situated 110 kilometers southeast of Bangkok, was established in July, 1980, as a processing center for Indochinese refugees. The refugees come to Phanat Nikhom from other refugee camps in Thailand for interviews and eventual resettlement in a third country. The camp is administered by the Thai Ministry of the Interior. The camp population is 21,191, of which 67 percent are Vietnamese, 18 percent are Highland Lao (Hmong), ten percent are Lowland Lao, and five percent are Cambodian (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1988). The refugees study the language and culture of their resettlement countries and receive a complete health check during their stay of two to four months.

JVC started the Japanese Language School at Phanat Nikhom in 1981. The objective of the school is to provide Japanese language and cultural orientation for refugees who are going to resettle in Japan. Five regular classes, as well as supplementary lessons, are given every day by one Thai and four Japanese teachers. This school is the only place for refugees from Thailand to learn the Japanese language before they come to Japan.

Most of the refugees are rural people, and a number of the elderly are illiterate. Many do not know how to study language because they had no chance to attend school when they were children. Students are taught in groups of five to ten per class, organized by ability. Initially, the *hiragana* and *katakana* alphabets and basic conversation skills are taught. Since the refugees will continue intensive language training in Japan for four months, JVC's objective is not to facilitate complete communicative competence in Japanese, but rather to provide refugees with an introductory exposure to the language.

Cultural orientation seminars are designed to reduce the refugees' anxiety about Japan. Video shows depict Japanese life, cooking, shopping practices, and medical services. In the library, refugees can find books related to Japanese language learning and culture. Air flight orientation, complete with a model airplane seat, is provided for refugees who have not flown before.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

In 1982, JVC started to consider working inside Cambodia itself, where people needed as much help as did the Cambodian refugees in Thailand. In 1985, JVC entered into various contracts with the Cambodian government and, since that time, has been assisting in three projects: a workshop and technical school, a RINE (Rehydration, Immunization, Nutrition, Education) center, and a water pump project.

Under an agreement with the Ministry of Transportation, JVC's initial project was the setting up of a workshop to train Cambodian mechanics in truck repair and maintenance. This activity was identified as being of primary importance in the reconstruction of the country, as almost all the Japanese trucks imported by Cambodia were in disrepair. Construction of the workshop began in July, 1986, and was completed in July, 1987. The training course commenced in January, 1988, and is currently staffed by one Japanese mechanic and 15 Cambodian personnel drawn from the Ministry of Transportation.

To assist the nationwide RINE program established in 1983 under the auspices of the Mother and Child Health Department of the Ministry of Health, JVC built a RINE center in Kandal province in April, 1988. The Center is staffed by Cambodians working under the supervision of a Japanese nurse. The Center's mobile health unit travels to 16 villages in the province, thus allowing for basic mother and child health care in remote areas.

Well drilling and water pumping are also basic needs in Cambodia. By 1979, the country's water system had been destroyed; since then, many villagers have not had a reliable source of clean water. This situation has contributed to one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world. JVC first sent personnel in 1982 and started the water pump project, in cooperation with the Department of Hydrology in the Ministry of Agriculture, in 1986. JVC continues to send materials and personnel to support this project.

Refugee Resettlement in Japan

History and activities

Japan has accepted 14,256 Indochinese refugees to date. Most were transferred from camps in other Asian countries, but a number of Vietnamese boat people came directly to Japan; 3,498 boat people arrived in 1989 alone. Additionally, Japan has accepted 509 refugees through the Orderly Departure Program, a program that allows legal departure from Vietnam to facilitate family reunion. Of the 14,256 refugees to arrive in Japan, 6,531 have left to resettle in other countries, and 6,607 have resettled in Japan (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1990).

Japanese government policy

Japan does not have a history of foreign immigration and does not have a large immigrant population. Therefore, foreigners living in Japan often feel isolated; almost all refugees living in Japan talk about the difficulty of adjustment. With this social reality in mind, the Japanese government's criteria for resettlement are very severe—officials want to choose immigrants who are strong enough to cope with this isolation and social hardship.

Interview members from five government ministries go to refugee camps in Thailand, Malaysia, The Philippines, and Hong Kong to screen the refugees who have applied for resettlement in Japan. These government representatives examine each applicant's health, educational background, and camp activities. After making their initial decisions, the government representatives return to Japan for further discussion with their ministry colleagues. Eventually, the successful applicants receive news of their acceptance. This process takes at least four months.

After the refugees arrive in Japan, they stay in one of 11 reception centers for four months to receive language and cultural training. At the end of this acculturation period, all refugee families are given some kind of job.

JVC's activities in Japan

After JVC's headquarters moved to Tokyo in 1982, the activities focused on refugee assistance in Japan and fund-raising for overseas activities in Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Somalia. For refugee resettlement assistance, JVC has a separate office in Kanagawa Prefecture, near the reception center that serves most refugees from the Phanat Nikhom camp. Through this office, JVC assists refugees through family visits, Japanese language teaching, and additional educational assistance.

The education of Japanese people is equally important: Japanese citizens must learn to accept Indochinese refugees as members of society. To help accomplish this objective, JVC is trying to introduce Indochinese culture to Japan through cooking and dancing exhibitions and exchange parties.

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English Language Teaching at Phanat Nikhom: Ten Years Later

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The Consortium at Phanat Nikhom turned ten last year. It has been educating U.S.-bound Southeast Asian refugees for over a decade. That is generally enough time for an organization to refine its educational philosophy, clarify its objectives, and understand its own constraints. It is time enough to evaluate external as well as internal criticism and to guide the program's direction. What has been learned about language teaching and learning, and how does that manifest itself in the program?

Although this consortium of the Experiment in International Living, Save the Children Federation, and World Education operates several different components, this discussion will focus on the English as a Second Language (ESL) component which serves close to 2,500 adults studying in two overlapping five-month cycles and employs ten senior teachers, ten supervisors, and over 100 teachers. It is, however, difficult to discuss the ESL component without acknowledging the Cultural Orientation (CO) and Work Orientation (WO) components, since all three components are integrated to reinforce the same objectives. (In addition to ESL, CO, and WO, the Consortium provides native language literacy education, secondary school education, special needs education, and a child care center that serve 3,400 students.)

The analysis presented here is based on my personal observations and opinions as a supervisor in the program and on interviews with the ESL Coordinator and program managers, supervisors, and teachers.

Competency-Based Adult Education

The ESL program uses a competency-based adult education (CBAE) model. A CBAE curriculum has been defined as "a performance-based outline of language tasks that leads to a demonstrated mastery of the language associated with specific skills...that are necessary for individuals to function proficiently in the society in which they live" (Grognet & Crandall, 1982, p. 3). Language learning is broken down into behavioral objectives (e.g., asking for stamps and other postal supplies) needed to function successfully in society. Instruction is student centered, and assessment is based on a student's ability to demonstrate the prespecified behaviors.

Critics of CBAE contend that the reality presented through the competency-based approach is one-sided, oversimplified, and self-serving. They assert that the approach's underlying message to refugees is that good immigrants should accept a subservient position in the minimum-wage workplace (Tollefson, 1989). Among other things, critics claim that refugees are not given training in "higher order skills" (Auerbach, 1986, p. 419) such as critical thinking and decision making, and "that CBAE...socializes students for a limited range of working-class roles" (p. 417).

Whatever critics may claim about the education provided for refugees, educators in the ESL program at Phanat Nikhom have clear ideas about what they are teaching and why. They see it as their job to present a realistic view of the employment situation that refugees will face in the United States: that the new arrivals may well find themselves in minimum-wage jobs while they become familiar with the language and the employment system. This realism underlies much of the emphasis that the curriculum puts on finding a job. While language and behavior that are appropriate for many types of interview and job situations are taught, students generally focus on entry-level positions because employment

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at that level is most accessible to them.

Other lessons in the competency-based curriculum that stress U.S.-style courtesy on the job (apologizing, following instructions) have been construed as teaching subservience (Auerbach, 1986). On the contrary, the language that is practiced for work situations focuses on basic human cooperative principles, designed with an awareness that cross-cultural communication can lead to misunderstandings and cultural misperceptions. What Westerners perceive as subservience, with all the negative connotations the word carries, is essentially an Eastern value of respect for elders or those in authority. As Cultural Orientation supervisor Sue Willet explains, "It is not a matter of us teaching the refugees to be subordinate in the workplace; they bring that with them." The greater challenge lies in providing refugees with appropriate language and behaviors that are socially acceptable in the workplace.

Structuring the Curriculum

The ESL program's curriculum is based on competencies—performance-based teaching objectives. Originally conceived in 1980 by a group of educators from various U.S. resettlement programs in Southeast Asia, these competencies and their supporting teaching materials have taken many forms. Over the years, new curricular projects have always been in direct response to student, teacher, and supervisor needs. Fred Ligon, Deputy Instructional Program Director explains, "A curriculum is only appropriate for a particular set of conditions; as those conditions change—the teachers, student population, supervisory staff—those changes are reflected in new curricula."

In the beginning, teachers at Phanat Nikhom worked with bare-bones competencies such as "describe housing needs" and "explain medical problems." By 1982, two volumes of competencies, along with sample language items, were compiled for the beginning levels. Efforts by ESL supervisors and curriculum specialists further refined these competencies and identified appropriate teaching strategies. In 1983, those efforts resulted in the first complete teacher handbook, *Opening Lines*, which was organized by topic area (Personal Identification, Housing, Health) and included appropriate language items, classroom activities, grammar exercises, and cultural notes.

By 1986, teachers—the majority without teaching backgrounds—wanted even more structure and guidance, so the program funded the writing of *Starting Out* and *Getting There*. These handbooks include everything an instructor should do during each class and have provided a valuable resource for newcomers to the program. More experienced teachers and supervisors, however, have found these handbooks to be overly structured, constraining, and predictable.

Today, an extremely structured curriculum is in place, though a majority of teachers are quite experienced. While no new curricular projects are in the offing due to budget constraints, program modifications have enabled teachers to be more flexible in how they utilize the existing curriculum.

A Shift Toward Holistic Learning

Originally, tests were used to measure student progress and to ensure mastery of the competencies. Pretests, mid-cycle tests, and posttests were designed by teachers and supervisors, unit-by-unit standardized tests were administered by an evaluation unit in the program, and additional tests were given by an outside agency. These tests were primarily oral and performance-based—quite similar to language tasks practiced in the classroom.

In 1985, however, these formal methods of measuring learning began to be questioned. Many students became nervous during tests and could not perform as well as they did in classroom simulations, many teachers felt pressure to drill the correct responses to test questions, the amount of time spent on the testing process seemed inordinate, the objectivity of testers and the definition of "mastery" were questioned, and, in many cases, the results of the tests were not being utilized to improve classroom performance.

With developing awareness of the effects of standardized evaluation on student learning, the ESL component began to entrust more of the responsibility for student assessment to teachers and supervisors. Evaluation is now achieved through daily observation of students in class and encompasses much more than the ability to perform curriculum objectives: Evaluation incorporates whole-person development, with stress on self-esteem, confidence in seeking clarification, ability to work with others, and general physical, mental, and emotional well-being.

The move toward a holistic approach to student evaluation has also given teachers more flexibility in addressing the individual needs of students. Supervisors, teachers, and students now work together to make classes more interactive, and teachers are given more freedom in managing their classrooms. The training rooms buzz with catchwords such as "cooperative learning," "student-centered," and "interdependence," while trainers push teachers to come up with fresh, creative ways to practice language related to curriculum objectives. In many cases, the competencies have become mere guideposts from which teachers devise language practice activities which incorporate particular student concerns, interests, and ideas.

Preliterate Learners

At the beginning level, where students are preliterate hilltribe peoples (i.e., Hmong, Mien, Tin) and rural lowland Lao, the competencies are still followed quite closely. The literacy objectives in *Starting Out*, such as "hold and use a pencil correctly" and "read and print own name," must be reinforced daily. Classroom learning is completely foreign to these students, and they are anxious about the strange language their teachers speak, the thick workbooks they must complete, and the difficulty of learning to pronounce new sounds.

Teachers, aware of the background of preliterate students, do their best to make the lessons as accessible and enjoyable as possible. By the end of the five-month course, which includes both ESL and native language literacy education, the refugees have gained a great deal: They have become functionally literate in their own language, and they can recognize letters and numbers in English and can ask and respond to a few basic questions in English.

The real success, however, is that the refugees have gained confidence. As ESL Coordinator Steve Epstein says, "Our overriding goal is to give these people the message: 'You can learn. You can face something new.'" A look inside two adjacent beginning classes, one in its first week where students are tense, hesitant, and unsure, and one at mid-cycle where they are much more relaxed, eager, and confident, illustrates that these refugees can and do learn how to succeed in a new environment.

Advanced Classes

At the more advanced levels, students can often perform curriculum competencies already, or can gain competence quickly. This allows teachers to move beyond the curriculum, functioning as facilitators while students explore their own beliefs and values. Critical-thinking skills are developed through activities such as current-events interpretation, discussions, problem-solving exercises, and role plays. Comprehension, predicting, and creative skills are practiced through the use of video activities and discussions. Even when working within the boundaries of the competencies, students are given practice in such skills as prioritizing their own values (e.g., considering future purchases) and self-management (e.g., making a monthly budget).

Unlike the rigid CBAE model described by Auerbach (1985), the ESL program at Phanat Nikhom recognizes the importance of critical-thinking, assertive-questioning, and interactive skills for whole-person language learning, and teachers in the program have been able to expand beyond the framework of CBAE to accommodate this importance.

The Program's Greatest Strength

One of the greatest strengths of the program, many supervisors agree, is the capability, creativity, and energy that the teachers in the program bring to their classes. Ninety percent of the teachers are recent Thai college graduates; those remaining are foreign-born native or near-native speakers of English. All teachers receive training from Consortium supervisors after they have been hired. After one or two cycles, a majority of these teachers becomes adept at motivating students to interact with each other and at creating supportive and lively learning environments.

Conclusion

Changes in the Consortium in the past ten years have put the human dimension of learning into classes, ended the measurement of learning through statistics, and allowed teachers more flexibility in addressing student needs. Still, there are formidable constraints inherent in the nature of the program that sometimes preclude the interactive learning that might best prepare refugees for resettlement. While supervisors would like to see more empowerment activities incorporated into the curricula, problem posing for instance, it is difficult to generate relevant discussion on resettlement issues about which the refugees have no awareness. Simply by virtue of the program's circumstances—in a camp in Thailand with a limited time to prepare students for resettlement to an altogether different setting—some educational time must be spent in providing information about life in the United States.

Also, since most teachers are not Americans and come to the program untrained in education, it takes time before they are confident and competent enough to make decisions about the types of language activities that will most assist their students. Thus, it is sometimes safer to rely on the security of a prescribed curriculum. Regardless of what teachers have learned about their students' needs, even competent teachers may rely on the structure and safety of the performance-based competencies. After years of strict adherence to a detailed objective-by-objective approach, teachers as well as supervisors find it difficult to know how far they can or should stray from the daily objectives.

The questions right now are "What is the best thing for the students?", "What are they gaining?", and, "How will this help them in the future?" These are the same questions that teachers and supervisors faced in 1980 and have been facing for the last ten years. Today, with program support, individual teachers and supervisors are being given more of the responsibility in answering them.

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Refugee Education in Hong Kong

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Education is the right of every human being, regardless of individual situation. It is the responsibility of the international community to make sure that everyone can exercise this right.

In Southeast Asia, there is one group in particular that finds difficulty in getting the education that is rightfully theirs: the Vietnamese boat people who have spread all over the region since the two Vietnams were united.

Vietnamese Refugees in Hong Kong

History

By 1979, more than 66,000 Vietnamese refugees had arrived in Hong Kong, and the indication was that more were to come. International compassion was also waning at this time, and many governments were increasingly unwilling to resettle Vietnamese refugees. The problem grew to such proportions that in July, 1982, the Hong Kong government felt obliged to introduce a policy known as the Closed Camp Policy.

Basically, this policy meant that arriving refugees would still be granted refugee status, but—unlike before—would no longer have the right to move freely and find jobs in Hong Kong society. The newly arrived refugees would be put behind barbed wire in camps far away from the city until they could find a country willing to offer resettlement. The policy was intended to halt the flow of refugees from Vietnam to Hong Kong.

There were distinctly fewer arrivals for the next two years. In 1983, 3301 refugees arrived, compared with 7403 in 1982. Soon, however, the deterrent effect of the policy wore off, and refugee arrivals began to increase again. In 1986, Hong Kong saw 1821 arrivals, compared with 1069 in 1985. Clearly, the deterrent policy was not working.

With the number of arriving boat people increasing again, the Hong Kong government introduced an even more severe deterrent: the Screening Policy. This policy—introduced on June 16, 1988—withdrew automatic refugee status from arriving Vietnamese boat people. According to the Screening Policy, every boat person is now interviewed by immigration officials. These officials decide whether entering Vietnamese are legitimate refugees or economic migrants in search of a better life. Legitimate refugees will eventually be resettled in western countries; economic migrants will eventually be returned to Vietnam.

Currently, Hong Kong accommodates more than 10,000 refugees, approximately 34,000 asylum seekers (those of yet-undetermined status), and about 11,000 screened-out people, economic migrants who will eventually be returned to Vietnam.

The future

Recently, the Philippine government offered a piece of land to the international community to be used as a holding center for refugees from the whole region, prior to resettlement in third countries. The Philippine government is only willing to admit refugees with solid guarantees of resettlement.

The Hong Kong government, however, decided that the first to be moved to the new site would be the newly screened-in, those asylum seekers who arrived after the Screening Policy was put into place, but who do not yet have resettlement guarantees.

The viability and effect of this new center remain to be seen.

International Social Service

Motivation and situation

In the fall of 1984, International Social Service was invited to start a children's school

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at Chi Ma Wan Closed Camp on Lantau Island. In the spring of 1985, the program was extended to adults through an adult language teaching program in which all who were not eligible for the children's program could learn English and French.

My personal involvement in refugee teaching began in the summer of 1986, when I swapped the surroundings of a very posh grammar school in the Netherlands for a few corrugated iron barracks in the blistering sun of Hong Kong. At the time, I was an organizer for a fund-raising program for the children of Chi Ma Wan.

The conditions and facilities in refugee camps are such that the teacher needs to resort to his own creativity and professionalism much more than in the average school elsewhere in the world. However, with little money available for staff recruitment, many administrators rely on untrained teachers: travellers who are willing to work for a few months, and religious zealots and other world-reformers who use the organizations to spread their own messages.

The facilities are also far from ideal. In more than one instance, we have had to relinquish buildings because the space is needed to accommodate more people. Textbooks are for teachers only—copies cannot be purchased for every student. "A good teacher needs a blackboard, a piece of chalk, and an audience," I used to say. But when I took over as education coordinator in 1987, the only certainty was an audience.

Programs

Our programs distinguish between refugees and asylum seekers.

1. Refugees

Those Vietnamese who have been granted refugee status will ultimately go to a western country. The countries that resettle most refugees are the United States, Canada, and Australia. In order to prepare the students for the future, we adopt a western approach to teaching.

We use teachers recruited from the camp population. Selected are those who were teachers in Vietnam, those who had received a tertiary education in Vietnam, and those who prove to have a certain skill necessary for the implementation of the curriculum. The curriculum is developed in close consultation with the Vietnamese by professional teachers, curriculum developers, and other experts.

Seventy percent of the teaching is done in Vietnamese, and 30 percent is done in English. Subjects taught to the refugees include Vietnamese Language and Literature, Math, Science, Computer Programming History, Geography, Art, Music, and Physical Education. English language classes are offered separately. Children receive up to 25 hours of instruction per week. Adult teaching includes language training and cultural orientation, where possible. Some vocational training, like Typing, Tailoring, and Computer Techniques, is also included.

2. Asylum seekers

Ninety percent of asylum seekers will not be granted refugee status and will eventually be returned to Vietnam. It is especially important, therefore, that children become literate in Vietnamese. For this reason, Vietnamese language skills are stressed in the education of asylum seekers. As with refugees, we use teachers recruited from the camp population. As the education of their children rests with the Vietnamese themselves, a greater sense of attachment to the program is created, ensuring a high quality of education.

Conclusion

From the tiny education program that started in 1984, International Social Services, Hong Kong Branch, has expanded greatly. We now run educational and recreational programs in two open centers for established refugees, and in six detention centers for asylum seekers. We employ over 600 people, most of whom are recruited from the camp population. Sixty staff members have been recruited locally in Hong Kong or in Vietnamese communities in the United States, Canada, or Australia.

Meeting the Long-Term Educational Needs of Resettled Refugees: An Integrated Approach

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Large numbers of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos first began to arrive in the United States after the victory of North Vietnam in 1975. In the 15 years since then, nearly 1,000,000 people from Indochina have been resettled in the United States. In order to prepare these refugees for their new lives, pre-entry educational programs were created in the early 1980s in processing centers in the Philippines, Thailand, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In 1990, these programs continued to offer six months of intensive language, cultural orientation, and preemployment training for refugees between 17 and 55 years of age, and simulated elementary and secondary school education for children between six and 16 years of age. In addition, domestic language and cultural orientation programs exist in every state in which Indochinese refugees have settled. Both pre-entry and domestic programs use curricula designed and coordinated by consultants from the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C.

When these educational programs were first created between 1978 and 1980, they were designed generally to ease the difficulties most refugees encountered in their initial adjustment to American life. Between 1980 and 1982, in an attempt to define the objectives of refugee education more precisely, federal officials declared that the primary aim of federally funded programs should be to help refugees gain early employment, thereby reducing public assistance costs for federal, state, and local governments. After a decade and a half of Indochinese refugee resettlement, it is appropriate to consider whether this emphasis on early entry-level employment is still an adequate objective for educational programs for resettled refugees, or whether refugees' long-term educational needs may require changes in federal refugee education policy.

Fortunately, there is now a large body of information documenting refugees' economic, social, and political adjustment to life in the United States. This information provides a basis for considering policies and programs to address the long-term educational needs of resettled refugees. Therefore, this article will summarize research on the adjustment of Indochinese refugees to American life and then consider two main questions: What are the long-term educational needs of resettled refugees?, and, What policies and programs would best meet these needs? In the final section, an integrated approach to refugee education will be described, based upon the Australian model for migrant education services.

Refugees' Adjustment to Life in the United States

Although Americans exhibited public sympathy for refugees during the crisis of 1978-1979, much of the attention since then has focused on refugees' high rates of unemployment and use of public assistance. Federal officials responsible for refugee resettlement have been particularly critical of what they consider to be unacceptably high use of public assistance. In testimony before Congress in 1986, for example, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugees criticized the high public assistance rates among refugees and argued that policies should do everything possible to discourage use of public assistance (Douglas, 1986). As a result of this concern, research has focused on rates of employment and use of public assistance, and federal policies have been adopted

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which require state refugee programs to use federal funds for services that contribute directly to employment (U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, 1984).

Objectives of both pre-entry and domestic educational programs reflect this concern with employment; curricular content emphasizes the competencies considered necessary for rapid incorporation into the U.S. labor force (see, for example, *Mainstream English Language Training Project*, 1985). A series of federal actions taken during the 1980s restricted educational programs to those emphasizing survival English and early employment in entry-level jobs. In 1987 and 1988, for example, eligibility for special refugee cash assistance was cut from 18 to 12 months; this action forced many refugees into general assistance programs, which, in some states, are considered loans that must be repaid by doing work for local governments (*Federal Register*, 1987; *Refugee Reports*, 1987). One result was that many refugees were forced to forego language and job training beyond basic survival levels and to move quickly into entry-level jobs.

Research suggests that refugees have done reasonably well in finding entry-level jobs. In a 1990 report to Congress, the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement reported that 38 percent of Southeast Asian refugees over the age of 16 who had been in the United States between seven and 12 months were unemployed; but, among the population who had been in the United States between 25 and 30 months, only 12.8 percent were unemployed (*Refugee Reports*, 1990). These figures may be misleading, however, in that they do not reflect a potentially large number of refugees who may have stopped looking for work. Indeed, while 26 percent of the seven-to-12-month group were counted as participating in the labor force (i.e., working or seeking work), only 34 percent of those in the 25-to-30-month group were counted as participating in the labor force. This small increase in labor force participation over time suggests that many refugees may have become permanently marginalized, counted neither as employed nor unemployed, but, rather, surviving through part-time, temporary employment in the peripheral economy while sharing living and mutual support arrangements with other Southeast Asians.

Among refugees who are employed, a job does not mean relief from serious economic problems. A University of Michigan study funded by the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement found that the unemployment rate drops to about one in three among all adult refugees who have been in the United States for three years; yet 43 percent remain below the poverty line three years after their arrival (*Southeast Asian Refugee Self-Sufficiency Study*, 1985, p. 180). The fact that an increase in refugee employment over time is not accompanied by an equivalent drop in the poverty rate means that getting a job does not necessarily end poverty. Indeed, the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement reports virtually no difference in the average weekly salary of refugees who have been in the United States between seven and 12 months and those who have been in the United States between 25 and 30 months (*Refugee Reports*, 1990).

The explanation for these disturbing findings involves the types of jobs refugees obtain. The University of Michigan study found that four out of five employed refugees are working in the lowest paid category of employment (operatives, service workers, and laborers). Yet only 14 percent of these refugees had worked in such jobs in Southeast Asia. Indeed, the Michigan study found that most refugees do not obtain employment that matches their previous education and experience. Refugees who were professionals and office managers in Southeast Asia usually find unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in the United States as, for example, janitors, maids, and assemblers. Fewer than four percent find work as professionals and managers. Similarly, doctors, nurses, and other health care professionals experience major barriers to recertification, and, therefore, most work in jobs which do not permit them to use their valuable skills. Of those refugees with manual skills, many find no work at all. Only 25 percent with experience as skilled machine operators are employed in any job in the United States (*Southeast Asian Refugee Self-Sufficiency Study*, 1985, pp. 121-129).

The Michigan study also found that half of all refugees are employed in jobs in the peripheral economy—part-time, irregular, or seasonal, with low salaries and benefits, little opportunity for advancement, and poor job security. During the recession of the early 1980s, for example, the unemployment rate among refugees who had arrived between 1975 and 1978 increased dramatically (Bach, 1984). In addition, some refugees who hold these jobs have only limited English proficiency and literacy skills, and the jobs do not provide an opportunity to improve these skills. Indeed, employed refugees are less likely than unemployed refugees to improve their language and literacy skills, probably because only the latter group has time to attend school (Tollefson, 1989). Thus, for most Southeast Asian refugees, resettlement in the United States has meant significant downward mobility: "In addition to being unemployed and underemployed, the refugees tend to hold dead-end jobs.…Even where jobs are held by refugees, they tend to be low in wages, status, and any possibility of upward mobility" (*Southeast Asian Refugee Self-Sufficiency Study*, 1985, pp. 133, 139).

These long-term economic problems have important social and psychological consequences. Health care specialists and Indochinese community leaders are concerned about high rates of depression, drug abuse, and disruption of family life (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986). Even intact families suffer, as children gain disproportionate power due to their proficiency in English and their responsibility for contact with American society. The collapse of traditional culture and family life leads to isolation and depression, particularly among older refugees who may remain isolated in their homes, alienated from their children and grandchildren, and fearful of the surrounding community (Gozdziak, 1988).

Within the context of these continuing economic and social problems, refugees struggle for survival. Many form cooperative small businesses, employing family members and others from the refugee community. Tens of thousands have moved to California and other areas where they can live with relatives and friends and rely upon each other for support. Small businesses have clustered in formerly decaying areas of San Jose, Houston, and a dozen other cities, though many of these businesses fail or barely survive. Vietnamese newspapers, radio broadcasts, and television shows reach families from California to Washington, D.C. A committee of former refugees in San Diego has collected hundreds of thousands of dollars to fund a rescue ship to pick up refugees in the South China Sea. Thus, while policies that emphasize early entry-level jobs may contribute to marginal employment, low salaries, and permanent economic crisis, the refugee groups have fought to reconstitute their communities within the American social system.

Long-Term Educational Needs of Resettled Refugees

The following list summarizes the major challenges confronting resettled refugees.

1. Difficulty moving from entry-level jobs to better-paying jobs offering improved security and opportunity for advancement.
2. Difficulty gaining jobs commensurate with previous skills and experience.
3. A high rate of business failure among the thousands of small businesses created within refugee communities, especially in urban areas.
4. Isolation and depression among some groups, especially older refugees and women with children.
5. Unemployment, drug abuse, a rising crime rate, and gang activities among adolescents and young adults.
6. Continuing barriers to education and training, including lack of child care and transportation.
7. Difficulty gaining professional certification for health care and other professionals.

This summary of refugees' circumstances in the United States offers a basis for outlining their educational needs. What kinds of educational programs might help to resolve the continuing challenges refugees face? Some of the problems facing refugees may be best met through direct funding of services in support of education. For instance, additional funding for child care at educational sites and transportation for refugees to those sites would enable more people to enroll in classes. Other problems may be addressed most effectively by direct educational programs. The following is a proposed list of educational initiatives to meet refugees' long-term needs.

1. Continuing English language and literacy classes for all refugees, including those with jobs, for a period of five years after their arrival; in many cases, these programs should be held at the workplace.
2. Advanced English classes for refugees with intermediate proficiency.
3. Special-purpose English classes for specific occupational groups, such as refugees with professional and managerial experience.
4. Job skills training to assist refugees in their efforts to gain better jobs.
5. Technical assistance in small-business administration.
6. Recertification programs for health care workers and other professionals.
7. Special language and social programs for older refugees, women with children, and young people.
8. Counseling and referral to assist refugees in evaluating their resources and skills and in designing programs to affect change.

These proposals offer a broad range of educational programs to meet refugees' long-term needs. In some communities in the United States, such programs already exist. Programs targeting particular groups, such as refugee women, Amerasians from Vietnam, and unaccompanied minors, have been created by some social service agencies and private groups, especially churches. Yet federal policy continues to emphasize survival English for early employment, and funding is not sufficient for broad implementation of these recommendations. Moreover, some educational programs cannot be implemented without the cooperation of nonrefugees. In particular, workplace education requires company support, which will be forthcoming only if the programs can be shown to be in the company's economic interest. Thus, initiatives to address the full range of refugees' ongoing needs must be planned with careful consideration for the interests and needs of other segments of U.S. society.

Not all of the refugees' needs can be met by education. The success of small business enterprises, for instance, depends also upon technical assistance, loans and credit, legal assistance, and a broad range of other kinds of support. Drug abuse and gang activities among young people also cannot be overcome solely through education. Indeed, these problems are not restricted to refugee communities, but extend throughout U.S. society. Thus, some of the refugees' long-term needs are increasingly similar to those facing other groups in the United States.

Perhaps the most important factor limiting the effectiveness of educational programs for refugees, however, is that many of the forces shaping their lives cannot be affected by classes for refugees alone. Therefore, education must be directed at other groups within U.S. society as well. Employers of refugees, for instance, must learn to adapt to the increasing diversity of their employee pool. Language and literacy classes, cultural orientation, and employment training will be more effective if offered in conjunction with a broad range of workplace education, counseling, and training for the employer and all employees. This means that an integrated model of educational services must be adopted.

A Rationale for an Integrated Model of Refugee Education

Any model for refugee education must begin with an explanation for refugees' ongoing economic and social struggles. Indeed, educational objectives are determined by analysis of the causes of refugees' circumstances after resettlement. One popular analysis is that refugees lack sufficient motivation (a work ethic) to improve their skills. Convincing evidence, however, suggests that this is not the case (Church World Service, 1984; *Southeast Asian Refugee Self-Sufficiency Study*, 1985). A second possible explanation is that educational programs are ineffective. Certainly the relative lack of funding for refugee education and the resulting reliance on volunteers rather than trained professionals make it likely that the quality of domestic programs could be improved with additional funding.

But perhaps the most widely held explanation is that refugees' economic and social problems are due to their inability to speak English and their lack of integration into the dominant society and culture. Indeed, this is the fundamental assumption behind current programs (Tollefson, 1989). This view places the responsibility for refugees' underemployment, difficulty moving up the job ladder, and associated social and psychological problems on the shoulders of refugees themselves. If they learn English and other skills, according to this view, refugees' problems will largely disappear.

The emphasis on employment, which dominates current programs for refugees, expresses this view, as does the more extreme rhetoric of immigration which depicts migrants as taking jobs from Americans, overly eager to accept public assistance, unwilling to learn English, and a drain on the U.S. economy (see Marshall, 1986; Bikales, 1986). Despite considerable evidence that refugees and other migrants have a net positive effect on the U.S. economy (Simon, 1985), programs continue to be shaped by this concern for reducing refugees' use of public assistance through overcoming "deficits" in their linguistic, cultural, and employment skills.

The experience of resettled refugees since the late 1970s, however, particularly their continuing low salaries and limited opportunity for economic advancement, suggests that the design and content of educational programs should reflect broader concerns. For instance, one weakness of focusing on refugees' "deficits" is that their linguistic skills and other talents are ignored. Moreover, the deficit view fails to consider the role of the dominant society in creating and sustaining refugees' marginal status. Therefore, an alternative explanation for refugees' marginal status focuses on the complex relationship between refugees and the dominant society. From this perspective, it is not only refugees who must change—the dominant society must change as well. Educational programs for members of the dominant culture, therefore, should become an important part of an overall program for successful resettlement.

The Australian model

A model for such an approach to confronting the broader issues of refugees' economic, social, and psychological adjustment to resettlement may be found in Australia. Australia has the highest proportion of refugees in the total population of any country in the world. Moreover, Australia underwent, in the mid-1980s, an intense public debate about language diversity, the economic importance of migration, and the link between language programs and social justice. The result of this debate was the 1987 National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987), which is the basis for current programs.

The National Policy on Languages accepted the basic principle that English should continue to play a dominant role in Australian life, but it gave equal weight to the problems that English domination creates for refugees and others who do not speak English fluently. The report recommended many steps to ensure that state policy does not isolate and marginalize speakers of languages other than English. Of particular relevance to the United States is the recommendation that English should be viewed as an *additional* language, rather than as a replacement for other languages. For this reason, the Australian Advisory Council on Languages And Multicultural Education (AACLAME), which is charged with implementing this policy, has adopted a broad range of programs to protect and extend Australian multilingualism, including programs in Asian studies, adult literacy, and Aboriginal languages, as well as English language instruction for migrants. In its language programs, AACLAME seeks to provide refugees and other migrants with English language instruction for the first five years after their arrival; to extend language education to everyone, including English speakers who are encouraged to study the languages of migrants; and to ensure that social justice is served by making government services available in migrants' native languages for people (e.g., older refugees) who do not acquire English.

Australian policy illustrates the integrated approach to migrant education in five key ways. First, it assumes that refugees and other migrants have important linguistic and cultural resources that should be disseminated throughout the society. To accomplish this, AACLAME funds programs to maintain and to encourage acquisition of migrant languages. Second, the policy assumes that initial employment does not resolve migrants' economic and social needs; instead, programs provide *continuing* language and skills training for employed migrants (as well as others in society who can benefit from such programs). Third, pre-entry training for refugees isolated from the dominant society in special camps is seen as providing only limited benefits, while domestic programs offer the full range of language, cultural orientation, and employment training that refugees require. Fourth, English language and literacy are offered in conjunction with child care and transportation programs, as well as programs concerned with management training, occupational health and safety, technical writing, computer assisted learning, services to disabled workers, and counseling and referral. Fifth, employers of refugees are increasingly a target of counseling and training, as they are seen as a major factor in determining refugees' ability to improve their economic situation. Through programs offered by the federal Workplace Education Service, employers are shown the significant economic benefits that accrue to companies that adapt the workplace to the diverse linguistic and cultural population of employees.

The integrated approach to refugee education acknowledges that English language and literacy education alone will not provide refugees with the resources they need to break out of the long-term economic crisis associated with marginal employment in the peripheral economy. Thus, the integrated model places English language and other educational programs for refugees and other migrants within the context of language and literacy training for workers generally. With a half million migrants and another half million native-born Australians (out of a total population of 16 million) unable to read and write enough English to cope with the safety and performance requirements of their jobs, Australian government officials estimate that time lost through poor communication on the job costs Australia over three billion Australian dollars per year (Bean, 1990). If this is an accurate estimate for Australia, where it is widely considered to be a conservative figure, then the United States certainly has much higher costs.

The integrated approach to remedying this situation begins not only with an analysis of refugees' "deficits" in language and other skills, but with an analysis of communication breakdown and misunderstanding in industries employing refugees and other migrants. Such industries normally reward employees who are from, or can quickly adapt to, the dominant cultural group within the organization—in most cases, white, literate, full-time, predominately male owners and managers. This means that linguistic and cultural minorities are penalized in numerous ways: by signs, worksheets, and other forms they cannot read easily; by higher injury, turnover, and absentee rates; and by face-to-face interactions and relationships hampered by individual failures to accommodate linguistic and cultural differences. Thus, the integrated analysis of workplace communication views communication difficulties as having their source in inflexible and inappropriate communication systems, rather than in refugees' "inadequate" English proficiency and cultural adaptation skills.

Programs based upon this analysis of workplace communication adopt several strategies. The company must demonstrate to its workers a broad commitment to improved communication. Depending upon the specific workplace situation, this commitment may involve redesigning signs and other forms, revising hiring and promotion procedures, removing obstacles to interpersonal communication, or providing translators and interpreters. English language and literacy training for *all* interested employees is an essential part of this company-wide program, and it is linked to skills-upgrading, numeracy, problem solving, and other training relevant to the particular workplace. This approach seeks to transform the image of refugees and other migrants from individuals with linguistic and cultural deficits that must be overcome through education, to full and equal participants with talents, linguistic abilities, and motivation that, if accommodated by enlightened workplace communication policies, can reap huge benefits for the company, the individual refugee or migrant, and the country's economy generally.

The integrated model in the United States

Adopting the integrated approach for refugee education in the United States will not be easy. Unlike Australia, where the ethnic lobby is well organized and politically powerful, ethnic and linguistic minorities have little impact on policy in the United States. The ideology of language in the United States also does not value diversity. As Sonntag and Pool argue, debates about language in the United States assume that language diversity is inherently disunifying, that English language competence is a measure of loyalty to the nation, that English language proficiency leads to upward mobility, and that anyone who is motivated can learn English (Sonntag & Pool, 1987). These assumptions are expressed most clearly in the popular movement to declare English the official language of the United States. Within this political context, it will be difficult to convince English speakers that they must change along with the refugees.

In the face of such opposition, an integrated approach to refugee education might seem to be a distant dream. Yet there is reason to be optimistic. An emerging consensus among immigration specialists and members of Congress recognizes that immigrants help the U.S. economy generally; this consensus is reflected in new proposals before Congress to increase the number of immigrants, particularly in skilled job categories (Levine, 1990; Pear, 1990). After the rapid spread of state laws declaring English the official language in individual states in the mid-1980s, several states have recently passed resolutions declaring their commitment to linguistic and ethnic diversity (Draper & Jimenez, 1989). Growing awareness of the economic benefits of a multilingual population is expressed in expanding programs in foreign languages, particularly Japanese. Perhaps most importantly, labor shortages in the 1990s are expected to be in skilled job categories. With a declining need for unskilled and semiskilled workers, companies will find that it is in their economic interest to provide training for employees and prospective employees so that they can gain the language, literacy, and other skills they need to fill job openings.

Taken together, these forces may create the political climate necessary for a major redesign of currently marginalized and underfunded refugee programs that emphasize unskilled and semiskilled employment. Should that occur, an integrated model for refugee education could become a politically feasible approach that offers benefits to refugees, their employers, and taxpayers alike.

Conclusion

By understanding the dynamic relationship between refugees and the dominant culture in which they live, we can begin to design more effective educational programs to meet the long-term needs of both refugees and society. The integrated model for refugee education emphasizes language and literacy combined with a broad range of educational and social programs for refugees, other migrants, and employers. Indeed, the title of this article may be misleading. The "long-term educational needs of resettled refugees" should not be separated from the "educational needs of U.S. society generally." Planning for refugee and migrant education in the United States should be linked to broad initiatives in education and training that target all groups in need. As greater and greater numbers of refugees—more accurately, *former* refugees—become permanent residents and citizens, their needs can no longer be met through short-term programs that end with initial employment. Indeed, an entry-level job is only the beginning.

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BOOK REVIEWS

LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, AND CULTURE: CURRENT DIRECTIONS. Stella Ting-Toomey & Filipe Korzenny, Editors. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989

Reviewed by Dr. R.K. Singh.

The *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* series has made a significant contribution to understanding communication processes in international and intercultural settings. It approaches the subject with an evolving multi-disciplinary, multilingual, cross-cultural, interpersonal, and comparative perspective. Thirteenth in the series, the current volume seeks to explore the linkages among language, communication and culture.

The contributors draw from such varied disciplines as sociolinguistics, psychology, communication, education, applied linguistics, and intergroup relations. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which concentrates on current developments in language acquisition theory within a cognitive and cultural context. Part II examines the relationship between language and cross-cultural communication styles, and the third part focuses on Foreign Language/Second Language usage in intergroup communicative contexts. These authors, as editor Stella Ting-Toomey points out, bring together "multiple conceptual and methodological orientations to examine the relationships among language, communication, and culture". They utilize such diverse approaches as developmental language acquisition, pragmatics, and intergroup communication on one hand while using the methodologies of rhetorical, conversational and quantitative analysis on the other.

The arguments are varied but interlinked, and they provide a critical perspective for the theme of the book. In Part I, for example, Beth Haslett argues that culture is learnt through language socialization processes, and therefore it is important to understand language development processes in conjunction with social/cultural knowledge acquisition (Ch. 2). It is equally important to understand the impact of language on human perception and cognition as articulated by Thomas M. Steinfatt in the third chapter, though there is evidence that language does not necessarily hinder one's ability to think across cultures.

In Part II, Gerry Philipsen argues that each culture has a distinctive way of speaking which facilitates the use of communication in the creation, affirmation, and negotiation of shared identity in a given cultural community, or what he calls the "communal function" (Ch. 4). Donal Carbaugh elaborates on Philipsen's thesis in Chapter 5, and on the basis of cross-cultural comparison, develops a framework that organizes speech and its meanings according to levels of performance and meaning. In intercultural communication, it is important to recognize that members of a cultural group "identify and use highly particular and highly valued forms of communication." Yousuf Griefat and Tamar Katriel examine a folk-linguistic term, *musayara*, which means "going with" or "accompanying one's partner in con-

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versation". The authors contemplate the term as it is used in the discourse of Arabs in Israel to articulate their cultural ethos. They compare the *musayara* code with the *dugri* (talking straight) code of native Israeli Jews and explore the possibilities for miscommunication resulting from differences between the two ways of speaking (Ch. 6).

In Chapter 7, Barbara Johnstone deals with cross-cultural differences in styles of persuasion, the means by which languages are used rhetorically. She discusses the connections among rhetoric, culture, and language vis-a-vis the strategies for persuasive discourse used in the European West and Iranian East. She differentiates between persuasive strategy and persuasive style, maintaining that the latter is a facet of the culture while the former enables speakers from different cultures to make choices based on immediate rhetorical situations among "available means of persuasion."

Using a slightly different approach, the contributors to Chapter 8, Robert Hopper and Nada Doany, claim that certain underlying structural universals permeate telephone conversation openings in English, French, and Arabic, and they argue in favour of increased studies of linguistic universals that transcend cultural boundaries. In Chapter 9, Stephen P. Banks theorizes that linguistic pragmatics is an essential aspect of intercultural interaction theories. He proposes a model of language for intercultural communication which incorporates pragmatics with other areas of linguistics. He cites the use of "power pronouns" (personal pronouns that signal social superiority) in modern English to illustrate the model. He also emphasizes the critical relationship between cultural ideology and language practice.

Focusing on the relationship between ethnolinguistic identity and language usage, Part III of the volume opens with a collaboration by Peter Garrett, Howard Giles, and Nikolas Coupland. These three present a revised version of Giles and Byrne's Intergroup Model of the social psychology of second language acquisition. They alert scholars to the notion that second language learning processes "should be located squarely within the precincts of intercultural communication studies" (p. 202). They seem to be aware that ethnocentric approaches are of little value in SL/FL contexts and that they can actually hinder learning if minority group students are neither willing nor able to participate in and understand the culture of the target language. In addition to specific sociolinguistic factors that promote second language acquisition, their propositions incorporate outgroup and ingroup factors. They may well be justified in their assertion that "the failures of bilingual educational programmes cannot always be located in peculiarities of pedagogy alone" (p. 217).

In Chapter 11, William B. Gudykunst observes that cross-cultural research on social identity and ethnolinguistic vitality reveals their influence on intergroup behaviour across cultures. He also examines the influence of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability on the ethnolinguistic identity of sojourners in the United States. His findings show that three of Hofstede's four dimensions have a significant multivariate effect on the five components of ethnolinguistic identity. He urges that research focus on specific boundary conditions of ethnolinguistic identity theory, testing the theory in diverse interethnic linguistic communication settings.

In the last chapter, Richard Bourhis presents an analysis of important factors that influence language choice strategies in bilingual work settings. He seeks to integrate two independent research areas, intercultural communication and organizational communication, in a study of bilingualism among Francophone and Anglophone co-workers in Canada. He also introduces a new conceptual and methodological tool which evaluates the linguistic work environment of speakers and their communications processes in bilingual organizational systems.

The three parts of the book suggest three approaches: developmental (Ch. 2-3), interactional (Ch. 4-9), and social/psychological (Ch. 10-12). These reflect current trends in the multidisciplinary study of language, communication and culture. The authors recognize the importance of studying the relationship between language and context and among different language identities, just as they relate the multiple functions and meanings of language and communication to culture. Their theoretical perspectives should help in the conduct of comparative studies aimed at understanding linguistic communication (or miscommunication) in different cultures.

Ting-Toomey and Korzenny's book adds to several recent studies of the language/culture nexus which have nurtured the current climate of cultural pluralism and multilingualism and promoted liberal ethnic identity. Language may be a cultural marker, but it is not the only characteristic of a cultural group, and the controlling conventions of language and discourse are not necessary conditions for the maintenance of cultural identity. Although culture is important in language pedagogy and other intellectual activities, it appears that communicative competence in the language studied cannot be equated with competence in the culture. Despite sophisticated research in linguistic analysis and an understanding of psychopedagogical factors in intercultural communication, there is a lack of awareness regarding the holistic nature of teaching language as communication. These points should be examined further, preferably in studies that yield empirical data, in order that the multifaceted aspects of language in cross-cultural communication might be more fully appreciated.

English in China. Y.F. Dzau, Editor. API Press, 1990.

Reviewed by Victor Fic

This excellent book begins with a statement from the editor which is typically Chinese in its modesty. He states that his humble intention is to examine "the political, economic, social and cultúral factors"(p. xii) that affect the teaching of English in China.

In truth, the reader is presented with a banquet of essays on issues such as pedagogy, teacher training, syllabus design, cross-cultural misunderstanding, and others. Each essay is well organized and written in lucid, polished prose. Moreover, most of the essays are highly relevant to teachers presently working in Japan's hierarchical, Confucian-influenced society.

Among the best essays—it is germane to teachers everywhere—is Li Xiaoju's "In Defense of the Communicative Approach." Li explains in detail that the communicative approach entails using "real situations [and] roles" when creating lessons, injecting "freedom and unpredictability" into the classroom, emphasizing "use over form", and developing an "integrated course...to develop listening, speaking, reading and writing skills" (p. 126).

He aggressively indicts both the traditional pattern-drill method and the structural approach, the latter being based on internalising linguistic structures as a habit-forming process. Both promote mechanical learning. Unfortunately, too many English teachers in China refuse to examine and try new methods.

In Japan, the Ministry of Education claims that native speakers are being recruited to teach the communicative method, for example on the JET Program. In truth, the Ministry prescribes texts that focus on examination English, and many teachers are reluctant to experiment with anything new. Moreover, textbook writers and publishers are unwilling to risk their market share by abandoning established formats for risky, new approaches. Both groups should heed Li's exhortation, "if you give your students a chance, you will find surprising potential in them"(p. 122).

Novice English teachers in foreign lands often exude enthusiasm for teaching but are stymied by their students' culturally conditioned approaches to learning. Paul Harvey tells us that his Chinese students manifested certain key learning patterns; how many teachers in Japan would recognise them as well? They include "a preoccupation with grammatical structure...memorization and rote

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learning...a monolithic examination system", and others (p. 169).

Harvey offers sensible advice to the frustrated teacher faced with very conservative, non-risk oriented students. Rather than coercing the students "to abandon their learning strategies", the teacher should invite the students "to examine their [habits] and pick and choose those which seem relevant to the tasks" at hand (p. 171).

Cultural factors envelop foreign teachers and their students outside the classroom as well. These factors can poison friendships, bruise emotions, hinder mutual learning, and distance rather than unite people. Helen Oatey seeks to ameliorate this problem. She analyses how "Conceptions of Power and Solidarity" can undermine teacher-student relationships, teacher-teacher dialogue, foreigners' privileges, and feedback and constructive criticism sessions. Oatey's realistic advice includes warning Western teachers against "sharply criticising a student in front of others", rejecting the use of intermediaries in conflict resolution, and other such insensitive actions (p. 258ff).

Often, teachers and students alike are hindered by the complex mechanics of administrative and bureaucratic bodies. Alan Maley could have been reflecting on Japan when he enumerated the stock phrases that bureaucrats spew out in response to requests from teachers. Many of us would become wealthy if we were given 10 yen every time someone told us, "We are discussing the matter"; "It is not convenient"; "It will take time". Such marble-hard inertia year after year can sap anybody's patience. Foreign teachers can learn to cope by remembering that "the responses are [often] a reflection of the embarrassment the host experiences" when faced with a difficult demand (p. 102).

Of course, foreign teachers can only do so much to adjust; the host society must also accommodate them. China and Japan often fail to do this because of their double-mindedness. Both nations recruit foreign teachers, but then they smugly boast that, "China [or Japan] is so different that nothing foreign can possibly work here". The only recourse is to show sensitivity to the host culture, while also demonstrating the efficacy of one's techniques.

The book's editor, who has almost forty years' experience teaching English in China, contributes highly circumspect, balanced essays on the political dimensions of education in China. His reflections will educate those without any prior knowledge of China, while also meeting the stringent standards of China specialists.

For example, he instructs us that the communist government had—and still possesses—"absolute powers" to decide education policy. In the 1950s, ideology dictated "Learning from the Soviet Union". This meant teaching English the way one would build a tractor—memorization, inflexible interpretations, and success measured quantitatively. Certain British teaching methods were branded "imperialistic"(pp. 15-16).

In the 1980s, under Deng Xiao Ping's Four Modernizations Program, English was considered a prerequisite for creating an advanced society. Hence, "intellectuals were given a new [upgraded] status"(p. 31); advanced teacher training courses were inaugurated; numerous exchange programs were launched.

Yet, the dragon of politics keeps rearing its head. Especially after the Tiananmen Square crisis of 1989, conservatives have come to harbour "an overriding fear about the influx of Western capitalist-liberal ideas" through the English language (p. 279).

Presently, many students in China fear that learning English will brand them as "dissidents who may cause trouble". The editor correctly concludes that English language instruction will continue, "but under conditions of control which can satisfy the hard-liners" (pp. 280-281). One can only hope that the Middle Kingdom will not close the heavy wooden doors of xenophobia on English teachers. And this reviewer can only recommend to English teachers in Japan that they read this book, which promises little but delivers many treasures.

PROFESSIONAL INTERACTIONS: Oral Communication Skills in Science, Technology, and Medicine.

Candace Matthews & Joanne Marino.
Prentice Hall Regents, 1990.

Reviewed by Paul Corrigan

The complementary communicative skills of oral presentations and small group discussions are the subject of Candance Matthews' and Joanne Marino's *Professional Interactions: Oral Communication Skills in Science, Technology, and Medicine*. The course includes a student's book, an instructor's manual, and a cassette. There are ten chapters focusing on small group discussion skills, and five chapters on the development of oral presentation skills.

As stated by the authors, the course is "designed for science, engineering, or health professionals at an intermediate to advanced level of English proficiency" (p. xviii). The student's text begins with a rationale for the book and additional rationales throughout the text give clear, convincing reasons for learning set expressions used in giving presentations, and organizing information. This student-centered ethos is also evident in the expansion possibilities for students' use of set expressions, and in the range of activities from which students can choose, depending on their particular needs or preferences.

The first chapter on oral presentation skills deals with styles of delivery. Subsequent chapters proceed from determining content and using transitions to using visual aids and answering different types of questions. Activities from these chapters include: interviewing a fellow student for personal and professional information and then introducing that student to the rest of the class; giving a three minute presentation with transitions to link points; and tape recording and playing back for analysis a question-and-answer session of a three or four minute presentation. The organization of the chapters is presentation preparation, presentation techniques, presenter assignment, and listener assignments. Included in the listener assignments is an evaluation form the students can complete for each presenter in the class. Having used peer evaluation for presentations in my own classes, I was particularly glad to see it included in this text.

The chapters devoted to small group discussion include such topics as giving an opinion, agreeing and disagreeing, analyzing feasibility, persuading, counterarguing, and conceding. Activities include discussing how to spend a one million dollar donation to the National Institute of Technology, discussing ways to provide health care to the residents of the country, and deciding how to deal with a chemical waste landfill that may be causing health problems for the residents of a new housing development. The organization of these chapters is introduction of expressions, listening practice, controlled practice, communication concepts (i.e., cultural and behavioral concepts), discussion techniques, and discussion evaluation.

The order in which expressions are presented should pose no problems for advanced students, but less advanced students might benefit from learning expressions used to clarify information from the outset. Some communication breakdowns could then be avoided from the beginning of the course.

Despite this minor criticism, as a tool for developing presentation and small group discussion proficiency, *Professional Interactions* looks like a winner.

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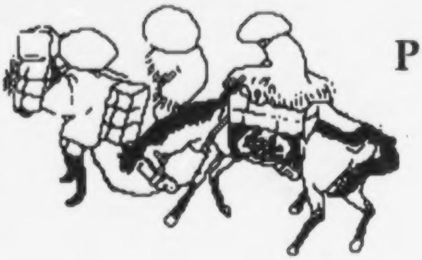

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Summer Workshop for the Development of Intercultural Coursework at Colleges and Universities. July 17-26, 1991. The Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The workshop is for college and university faculty who wish to develop courses in intercultural and international topics. **Internationalization Forum.** October 1-15, 1991. The East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The forum is for those with professional interests and responsibilities dealing with international relations in education, local government, or voluntary organizations. The theme of the 1991 forum will be "Nationalism and Internationalization." The forum will establish a global network of internationally minded professionals wanting to meet, exchange information, and discuss communication and collaboration across national boundaries. For more information contact: Larry E. Smith, Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848, U.S.A. Telephone: (808) 944-7634.

The 17th Annual JALT (The Japan Association of Language Teachers) Conference. November 2-4, 1991. The conference will be held at the Portopia Convention Center in Kobe, Japan. For more information contact: JALT Central Office, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi 111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-Agaru, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan.

RELC Regional Seminar on Language Teacher Education In A Fast-Changing World. April 20-23, 1992. SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, Singapore. Participants will survey recent developments in language teacher education, discuss new and established models of language teacher education, and examine how new trends in language teaching theory and methodology will affect the preparation of language teachers in Southeast Asia. For more information contact: The Director, (att: Seminar Secretariat), SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025. Telephone: (65) 737-9044. FAX: (65) 734-2753.

TESOL 26th Annual Convention & Exposition. March 3-7, 1992. Meetings will be held in the Vancouver Convention & Trade Center, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. For more information contact: TESOL, 1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, USA. Telephone: 703-836-0774. FAX: 703-836-7864.

23rd Annual International Summer Workshop for Teachers of English. August 11-17, 1991. LIOJ. The workshop will include over 60 presentations, language classes in English and Thai, and various social and cultural activities. Featured presenters include Lydia Stack, Richard Via, Ian Thomas, Stephen Gaies, Kathleen Graves, Donald Freeman, D'Arcy Adrian-Vallance, Mark Helgesen, and the professional teachers of the LIOJ. For more information contact: LIOJ Asia Center, 4-14-1 Shiroyama, Odawara-shi, Kanagawa-ken 250, Japan. Telephone: 0465-23-1677. FAX: 0465-23-1688.

A New Journal. *TESOL in Context: Journal of the Australian Council of TESOL associations.* edited by Tony Ferguson. For subscription information contact: Lance Vertigan, Collingwood College, PO Box 63, Abbotsford, Victoria 3067, Australia.

BAND91 Bilingualism and National Development: Current Perspectives and Future Trends. December 9-12, 1991. Conference participants will explore the theoretical and experiential aspects of "Language and Education" and "Language and Society." For more information contact: BAND91, English Department, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Gadong 3186, Brunei Darussalam. Telephone: 02-227001 ext. 395. FAX: 02-227003.

The 16th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development. October 18-20, 1991. Keynote speaker will be Dr. Steven Pinker of MIT. For more information contact: Conference on Language Development, Boston University, 138 Mountfort Street, Boston, MA 02215, USA. Telephone: (617) 353-3085.

TEACHING POSITIONS. The Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) has EFL teacher openings in both its Business Communication Program (BCP) and also its Community Program (CP). M. A. in TEFL preferred, but candidates also sought with backgrounds in education, business, engineering, economics, or international relations. BCP students are business professionals from throughout Japan who stay at LIOJ for one month and study in an intensive program. CP students range in age from 4 to 70, and instruction includes team teaching in local junior high schools. Salary approximately 339, 700 yen per month with seven weeks paid vacation, up to ten meals provided, and other yearly benefits. Excellent living area, near the nountains and sea, about one hour from Tokyo. Send a resumé to the Administrative Director, Language Institute of Japan, 4-14-1 Shiroyama, Odawara-shi, Kanagawa-ken 250, Japan. Telephone: 0465-23-1677. FAX: 0465-23-1688.

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This journal is unique in that it provides a forum devoted to the discussion of topics and issues in communication which is of interdisciplinary significance. It publishes contributions from researchers on all fields relevant to the study of verbal and non-verbal communication. The investigation of language and its communicational functions are treated as a concern shared in common by those working in anthropology, the arts, artificial intelligence, education, ethology, linguistics, physiology, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences. Emphasis is placed on the implications of current research for establishing common theoretical frameworks within which findings from different areas of study may be accommodated and interrelated.
By focusing attention on the many ways in which language is integrated with other forms of communicational activity and interactional behaviour, it is intended to explore ways of developing a science of communication which is not restricted by existing disciplinary boundaries.

A Selection of Papers
M L SCHNITZER (USA), Critique of linguistic knowledge.
P M S HACKER (UK), Chomsky's problems.
J KITTAY (USA), On notation.
J D MAY (Australia), Questions as suggestions: the pragmatics of interrogative speech.
U HADAR (UK), Gestural modulation of speech production: the role of head movement.
G WOLF (USA), Malinowski's 'context of situation'.
N LOVE (South Africa), Language and the science of the impossible.
T J TAYLOR (USA), Condillac: language as an analytic method.
C G HENTON (USA), Fact and fiction in the description of female and male pitch.

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World Englishes (WE) is devoted to the study of global varieties of English in their distinctive cultural and sociolinguistic contexts. The journal recognizes that English belongs to all who use it and is unique in that it provides an international outlook on three areas of research: Language; Literature; Methodology of English Teaching.
WE is aimed at students, researchers and teachers, and is integrative in its approach to the study and teaching of English language and literature. The primary concern in the sphere of literature is with 'non-native' literatures in English.
The journal also provides evaluative and critical articles in methodology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and stylistics, and encourages discussion and debate through the "Comments and Replies" section.

A Selection of Papers
B KACHRU (USA), World Englishes and applied linguistics.
J M SINCLAIR & D M KIRBY (UK), Progress in English computational lexicography.
L F BOUTON (USA), The imperative tag - a thing apart.
G YULE (USA), Interactive conflict resolution in English.
L CRIPER-FRIEDMAN (UK), The tone system of West African Coastal English.
S GREENBAUM (UK), Standard English and the international corpus of English.

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LIOJ

THE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE OF JAPAN
4-14-1 Shiroyama Odawara Kanagawa 250 Japan
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LIOJ is a private organization supported by a not-for-profit educational foundation, the Zaidan Hojin M.R.A. House. The Institute was founded in the spring of 1968 as a small experimental school specializing in preparing Japanese to work or study abroad. LIOJ does this by offering intensive training in English and an experience dealing with non-Japanese in an English-only environment designed to promote cross-cultural communication and encounter. Besides the residential Business Communication Program, LIOJ offers language courses to the Odawara community for both adults and children through its Community Program and offers a variety of special programs to individual organizations. LIOJ annually hosts a Summer Workshop for Japanese Teachers of English and also sponsors fellowships and scholarships to overseas participants in the Business Communication Program and the Summer Workshop.

A primary goal at LIOJ has been that the LIOJ experience should be rewarding to both students and teachers alike. LIOJ's purposes as an institute extend basically in two directions: those which center on ways to serve the needs of Japan and the international scene at large; and those which center on maintaining a favorable teaching environment which is conducive to creativity and involvement in the field of language teaching and cross-cultural training. These goals are by no means mutually exclusive: Efforts made in one direction often lead to successes in the other. LIOJ was instrumental in establishing the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT) in 1975 and continues to be a supporter of the association. In addition, many English language curriculum materials developed by members of the LIOJ faculty have been published internationally, and, since 1972, LIOJ has published the widely respected language teaching journal, *Cross Currents*.

The Business Communication Program

With this program, LIOJ pioneered the intensive total-immersion business English training method which is common in Japan today. Well over 200 four-week and two two-week terms have been offered since the program began in 1968, with both Japanese and international companies sending well over 5000company employees. Approximately 60% of these participants have gone on to conduct business or receive training in foreign countries, while 40% use English while based in Japan.

In April 1990, LIOJ introduced two-week Business English Programs, also specializing in total-immersion English language/cultural training. These programs are offered periodically throughout the year.

LIOJ

THE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE OF JAPAN
4-14-1 Shiroyama Odawara Kanagawa 250 Japan
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The Community Program

The LIOJ Community Program for students in the Odawara area has expanded considerably since it was begun in 1968. Classes serve the needs of a wide population, from pre-elementary school pupils to adults. During the summer, intensive courses are held for primary and secondary school students.

The Community Program, in cooperation with the Odawara City Board of Education, also facilitates the Odawara City Junior High School International Understanding Program. This team teaching program, begun in 1988, is presently serving six area junior high schools, and has a well established reputation for innovation and excellence.

The Summer Workshop

Every summer since 1969, LIOJ has hosted a Summer Workshop for Japanese Teachers of English. This week-long residential workshop includes language study, special lectures and programs, and seminars on a variety of teaching methods and techniques. Japanese teachers of English from all parts of Japan, along with scholarship presenters from foreign institutions, participate in this premier event. The workshop also attracts many respected, internationally known presenters. Recent presenters have included John Fanselow, Paul LaForge, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Alan Maley, Robert O'Neill, Lydia Stack, and Richard Via.

Special Programs

LIOJ is periodically called upon to give special programs or to conduct testing and evaluation for companies and organizations including the Matsushita Institute of Government and Management, the Hakone Machi International Association.

Fellowships and Scholarships

In conjunction with long-term goals of improving language teaching in Japan and abroad, LIOJ provides fellowships and scholarships to teachers and students from foreign institutions. Fellowship and scholarship recipients come to LIOJ as assistants, observers, and students during regular Business Communication Programs. In addition, LIOJ invites scholarship presenters from foreign institutions, as well as from within Japan, to attend the Summer Workshop.

Fellowship and scholarship recipients in these programs have come from Thailand, Korea, the Philippines, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, India, and Hong Kong.

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A Selection of Papers

B PEARSON (USA), "Role-ing out control" at church business meetings: directing and disagreeing.

H R S ABD-EL-JAWAD (Jordan), Language and women's place with special reference to Arabic.

W J HARDCASTLE (UK), New directions in the phonetic sciences.

S PONS-RIDLER & N B RIDLER (Canada), The territorial concept of official bilingualism: a cheaper alternative for Canada?.

T ITO (Japan), Linguistic variation and friendship networks: a study in the Japanese language.

A E HIEKE (USA), Spoken language phonotactics; implications for the ESL/EFL classroom in speech production and perception.

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A Selection of Papers
C E DAVIES, A TYLER & J J KORAN Jr (USA), Face-to-face with English speakers: an advanced training class for international teaching assistants.
G BRAINE (USA), Writing in science and technology: an analysis of assignments from ten undergraduate courses.
A A TADROS (Sudan), Predictive categories in university textbooks.
H COLEMAN (UK), Analysing language needs in large organizations.
R T RICHARDS (USA), Thesis/dissertation writing for EFL students: an ESP course design.

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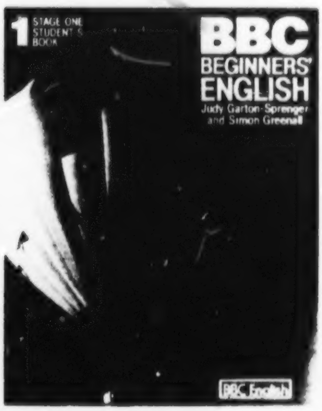
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